RED & BLACK

AN ANARCHIST JOURNAL

COVER

Women fighters of the Paris Commune defend their revolutionary political power.

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We intend publishing RED AND BLACK four times this year. Next issue will contain an anotated bibliography of new books and magazines. In the meantime we will send a list to anyone interested. Articles, especially those attacking revolutionary anarchism as generalised self-management rather than individualism, are welcome. The magazine costs 50c per copy to produce. Were selling at 50c, so we will probably lose money on this issue. Any contributions towards costs would be appreciated. This issue was edited by Jack Grancharoff and Sydney University Anarchists. Correspondence to Sydney University Anarchists C/- Jim Couch, Box 131, The Union, Sydney University, 2006

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Leftism and University

Leftism, a vague concept, escapes rigid definition. According to Ken Maddock, in his article "Notes on le Gauchism of Daniel and Gabriel Cohn-Bendit" in Anarchist No 3 of January, 1971, the Cohn-Bendits define leftism in historical perspective thus: "Marx was left of Proudhon and Bakunin of Marx; Lenin was left of the reformist social democrats and, in 1917, of his own Central Committee and Political Bureau; after 1917 the 'Workers' Opposition' was left of the other Bolsheviks and the anarchist Makhno was left of all the Bolsheviks." But, in my opinion, the best definition of leftism is one given by Lenin: leftism is "an infantile disorder".

The foregoing definition fits perfectly the "law and order" strategy of the Liberal-Country Party. The majority of the accused leftists are of bourgeois "origin, education and occupation". Their class origin is incompatible with their revolutionary activities unless one postulates a "false consciousness". This "false consciousness" from Lenin's point of view, an infantile disorder, can be related to an abnormal mental aberration or some psychological defects. Once the diagnosis of the disease is established the cure follows. The mental institutions will take care of some of the sick. The more recalcitrant will be bent by the physical pressure of "law and order", gaol confinement, and, if necessary, the fine touch of firing squads and gallows. "Law and order" will reign at the expense of our leftists, despite their protests. They have no case, because the liberal formula of suppression was provided by a leftist.

What did Lenin mean by "infantile disorder"? By no means the bourgeois whom the "Krasny Terror", November 1, 1918, declares an enemy of the people: "Do not search for incriminating evidence as to whether a person opposes the Soviet with arms or words. Your first duty is to ask him what class he belongs to, what were his origins, education and occupation. It is these questions which should decide the fate of the accused. This is the meaning and essence of the Red Terror." The statement in the "Krasny Terror" is a sufficient indictment against leftism. The leftists, I am referring to here are the students, who if not bourgeois by origin will become so by occupation. Their revolutionary verbalism, sentimentalism, and romanticism would not prevent them from being butchered if a new Dzerzhinsky, Yagoda, Yezhov and a Beriya had appeared on the political scene. By "infantile disorder" Lenin meant the left wing communists' consciousness. He applied it to the Workers' Opposition which had been accused of syndicalist sympathies and consequently, had to be eliminated. Theoretically the definition is restrictive but its practical application has been very extensive, to the extent that the Red Terror has not only destroyed its enemy but also its promoters; and set in motion a guillotine which no previous experience had equalled. Remember, it was Lenin and Trotsky, not Stalin, who put the machine in motion. It was Trotsky, who, with his iron fist, forced the soviets to accept his brand of communism and introduced labour conscription. It was Lenin who created the first concentration camp for the revolutionaries because revolutionaries are deviants from normal behaviour. And, in Holmograd, in the northern region of Murmansk, and Siberia, many deviants, such as Social Revolutionaries, Maximalists, Anarchists and other leftists, left their bones to witness the validity of Lenin's discovery of this famous political disease "infantile disorder". While in a Concentration Camp, I remember some leftist singing a song which dated back to Lenin's time:

A clamour of revelry and parades
Orgiastic in the stone city begins
But barefoot, exhausted and oppressed
Are dying the hungry slaves.
Moscow, Moscow iniquitous den,
Moscow you slough of debauch,
The new Masters enjoy banquet
While to Siberia are driven the slaves.
But Balthazar's fate
Will be the fate of Lenin too.

Was Lenin a leftist? Ironically this is supposed to be the case. And, like many leftists, he was a do-gooder. He wanted to cure society in its totality. He was a totalitarian. He did not concede either that there are conflicting interests in society or that freedom was an important factor for social and individual development. He forgot Bakunin's warning: "Freedon without socialism is privilege and injustice; and socialism without freedom is but slavery and brutality." Society, to Lenin, was subservient to power politics; it was an experimental field for political doctors.

The success of any political operation depends on the possible elimination of consciousness. This is feasible only if the patientco-operates. The co-operation is arrived at by force or by opium - the revolutionary phraseology - or by both. Lenin used both and succeeded as a politician but failed abysmally as a socialist. He created the state monolith at the expense of socialism. Stalin was his natural child and the cult of personality his creation. 'Socialist democratism does not in any way contradict one-man management and dictatorship; the will of the class is sometimes given effect by a dictator who sometimes does more alone and is more ' (Lenin's Works, 4th Russian edition. Vol XXX, p. 444).

Had Lenin ever thought of society as being an organic body? This cannot be substantiated, although if he did, his concepts would have been very different from those of some anarchists. Anarchists who propound an organic theory of society insist that all parts of it are equally important in role playing. Any privileges are ruled out. Cooperation is the main desirable form of social relationship. Hence they emphasize it.

Lenin, and all Marxists, begin with class antagonism and, through a process of dialectical development, arrive at the classless society, which if carefully examined will be an organic society. Lenin aimed at classless society where, in the final analysis, there would be no contradictions, no antagonism. where the workers would be emancipated. Granted his intentions were genuine, the results were contrary to the expectation. Instead of establishing socialism, he established a monstrous state which had destroyed the flowers of socialist thought, the finest tradition of socialism and dealt a death blow to socialism. Socialism today, in the minds of many people, is identified with the worst oppression, with concentration camps and slavery.

The question a leftist has to ask himself is why Lenin failed? The answer is simple. Lenin and his party, despite the revolutionary slogans, were promoters of bourgeois values. "The anti-Bolshevik, left-wing labour movement opposed the Leninists because they did not go far enough in exploiting the Russian upheavals for strictly proletarian ends. They became prisoners of their environment and used the international radical movement to satisfy specifically Russian needs which soon became synonymous with the needs of the Bolshevik Party—State. The 'bourgeois aspects of the Russian Revolution were now discovered in Bolshevism itself; Leninism was adjuged a part of international social—democracy, different from the latter only on tactical issues.' (Paul Mattick in his Marx and Keynes).

What Paul Mattick does not say is, that Lenin was a politician and as such his main interest was not socialism but power. To get power he had to destroy the revolution and re-establish bourgeois relationships, re-establish class society. His success was his failure, at least, as far as socialism is concerned.

Let us look at universities. University is not a community of scholars as some student protesters want us to believe. "The community of scholars" is a romantic concept; it belongs to the golden age of learning. University as it is today is a factory for the technicians, bureaucrats and elitists. It does not matter what is the class composition of the university, its function is the same, the perpetuation of the values of the

Establishment. Student rebels who talk of people's universities do not know what they are talking about. Which people's universities are they referring to? Where do such universities exist? In Russia? In China? In Cuba? A university that gives degrees is not a people's university but on the contrary, another institution of the establishment, and, mind you, an elitist institution.

Students, by virtue of their position, are privileged. Nevertheless critical examination, dispassionate enquiry and learning are subservient to job orientation. Students, in the majority, are status-seekers. In the real sense of the word then they cannot be revolutionaries. To be so means to go against their own interests, against their own position as a class category. While this is possible for a few it is not possible for the many. And let us face it. The majority of the students who participate in demonstrations and agitation are doing it for a kick, or as a pleasant excitement. Granted certain concessions the rebellion recedes. Germany is a good example. Thousands of revolutionaries become hundreds, hundreds become ten. At the end of the academic year the revolution becomes a pub debate, if there are any revolutionaries left. The extreme articulate minority, the elitist one, while fighting the bourgeois order is building a new one of privilege and slavery. The place of the bourgeois apparatchik is taken by the Maoist one.

The leftists, even if often compared with the nihilists, are pro-establishment. The nihilists rebelled against the old university structure which could no longer accommodate new demands. They wanted the study of science, especially for girls, to prevent their exodus to foreign universities. Their rebellion can, at its best, be described as reformist in character. Nevertheless the outcome was very revolutionary if compared with our left revolutionaries. The nihilists were bourgeois by origin. Their rebellion was directed against outmoded tsarist despotism and, while aristocratic and limited in scope, it engulfed various sections of society and ended in populism. Our leftists are of mixed origin. They are rebellion against a corrupt liberalism but are prophets and exponents of the most reactionary statism. There are more differences between these two movements than similarities.

The nihilists were pure rebels. As the name itself suggests, they put their faith in nothingness. They rebelled against absolute autocracy not to substitute one slavery for another but to abolish slavery as such.

Our leftists are revolutionaries. They are rebels with a cause. Their cause is authoritarian socialism, the state and the bureaucracy. They are disciplined, regimented revolutionaries who adore the state's law and order, and succumb to leaders. They put their faith in the worst aspect of marxism which was exposed by Bakunin long ago; "According to the theory of Marx, the people not only must not destroy (the state) but strengthen it and place it at the complete disposal of their benefactors, guardians, and teachers – the leaders of the Communist party, namely Mr. Marx and his friends, who will proceed to liberate (mankind) in their own way. They will concentrate the reins of government in a strong hand, because the ignorant people require an exceedingly firm form of guardianship; they will establish a single state bank concentrating in its hands all commercial, industrial, agricultural and even scientific production, and then divide the masses into two armies – industrial and agricultural – under the direct command of the state engineers, who will constitute a new privileged scientific political state". (Noam Chomsky, *American Power and the New Mandarins,* p.62). The outcome is elitism, the strengthening of bourgeois institutions, fear of populism and of the spontaneous action of the masses.

Today the university is a symbol of the establishment and the pursuit of science has become, for our revolutionaries, a trap set by the establishment to submerge them in technocracy. Leftists have a dilemma: either to support the university or to subvert it. They choose the first alternative. Somehow, their model of the university is extremely authoritarian, an appendix of the state. Their only qualification is that it should not be an

appendix of the liberal state. Even if they protest against the bourgeois, capitalist, and imperialist university, their actions are docile and conformist. Unlike their nihilist brothers, they are anxious to remain in the circle of the bourgeoisie. Only this can explain why they do not follow the logical conclusion of their statements: if expelled from university give it up, join the working class and become lumpen intelligentsia. Instead they will apply for re-admission.

Here I owe an explanation. By "subversion" I mean, abolishing the university as a class, as an elitist institution and as a degree factory, and emphasizing the aspect of learning.

Leftism as a university movement failed. Its attempts to arouse the consciousness of the university youth ended in fiasco. Its failure could be contributed to various causes the most prominent of which is ideology. Here "ideology" means the systematic distortion of reality. Instead of avoiding the liberal bourgeois quagmire leftism has sunk into it; it has adopted their ideology as its own: the state, law and order, the necessity for leaders. So, the additional ideological gimmicks such as the working class, the proletariat, socialism, the classless society, and people's democracy remain in the pure realm of ideas and fail to convince. Also because left ideology lacks intellectual depth, it substitutes slogans and cliches for reasoned arguments, emotionalism for intelligence, which has made it unconvincing, indefensible, and easy prey for attacks.

Its symbols of identification are not very inspiring either. Lenin, Trotsky, Castro, Mao, etc. are the worst bourgeois–authoritarian symbols one can invent. Their popularity is based on the longing for a strong father figure which makes the chains of servitude attractive, a must for everybody, and does not tolerate any forms of deviation. So the leftists do not oppose the status quo but search for means to strengthen it. One may judge them from their symbols of identification. Their fathers are extremely reactionary. They stand for statism, slavery, class division, and the new form of oppression–bureaucracy. Therefore one may argue that leftism as a protest movement is bourgeois in origin, denial and in assertion.

Perhaps you may wonder why I have started my paper with Lenin's famous dictum "Left wing communism, an infantile disorder". My purpose has been to indicate the fact that leftists who have promoted revolutions and have had as their symbols Lenin and his epigones, are, paradoxically enough, on the side of Askin and McMahon and the liberals, and, therefore, against themselves. By virtue of Lenin's definition they are deviants and naturally they suffer from infantile disorder. Deviant speech and deviant experience are dangerous in two distinct ways. They are dangerous to society insofar as they pose a threat to the conceptual scheme so long ago worked out, so easy and so comfortable, with which we have housed ourselves in the shifting world. They are also dangerous to the individual to the extent that he is led outside the precincts marked off as safe by the culture he will have absorbed. The precincts are marked by our cultural fathers Lenin and Askin and any one who steps outside is insane or behaving disorderly. A cure is necessary. Both states – communist and liberal – use similar cures, oppression. Their safe existence can be ensured only if any genuine revolutionary tendencies remain under control.

"Revolution", says Malatesta, "is the creation of new living institutions, new groupings, new social relationships, it is the destruction of privileges and monopolies; it is the new spirit of justice, of brotherhood, of freedom which must renew the whole of social life, the moral level and the material conditions of the masses by calling on them to provide, through their direct and conscious action, for their own future." Even in a limited sense, leftism has failed to establish a revolutionary relationship among students. Its action remains at the of level of conventionalism – authoritarianism.

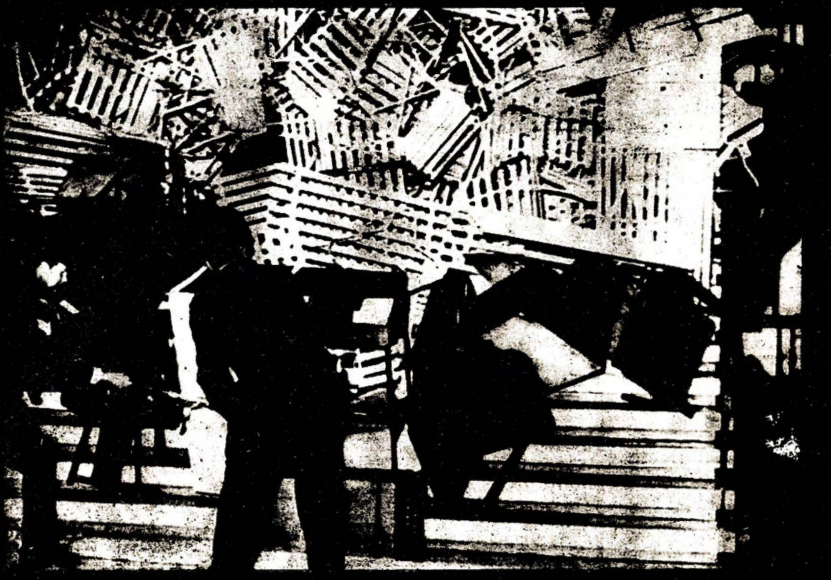
"...the emphasis is on agitation, direct action, sometimes disruption to bring bad operation to a stop...but in technology, ecology, pedagogy, rural life, industrial management, scientific socialists thought of nothing, and have accomplished nothing, despite their agitational success. They have merely carried on the arrangement of the old

order, sometimes a little better, sometimes a little worse. They understand the need for a new style of life, but it is hard to tell what the content of this is ... Often they sound as if the high technology, after they have disrupted it, will grind on automatically, while they are supported like Indians on a reservation, with motorcycles and good hi-fi and occasional hitch-hiking to somewhere." (P. Goodman)

If we switch this argument to the universities, we may say, that leftists want to disrupt the bourgeois university but are anxiously awaiting fot their certificate of honours so that they can become a part of the establishment. Unlike the nihilists they are not prepared to become lumpen intellegenzia. They disdain the lumpen proletariat and the working class in general, despite the fact that from time to time they refer to it for academic reasons. But unlike the old Russian state, and for that matter the Bolshevik state, the liberal state is eager to accommodate its dissenters and to prevent them from becoming potential revolutionary material. If this fails the pattern of a liberal state evolves, in our case "law and order", is more authoritarian and, therefore, nearer to the hearts of our leftists, the supporters of the servile state. Such a state is possible because, of what now is obvious, our leftists are anti-libertarian and pro-establishment notwithstanding their verbalism. Only those who are free from the values of the Establishment can create a new shell of the libertarian socialist society. Here our university left failed completely.

Jack the Anarchist

The Melbourne Union Resistance Commune
THE SHAPE OF THINGS TO COME



At the start it was hard to keep up security during the day. We expected that the real raid would come between 2 and 6 a.m., but a dozen cops could have come in and grabbed one of us easily throughout the day.

The first meeting with supporters following a press conference on Monday was broken up when we heard that police were raiding R.A.M. (Radical Action Movement) headquarters and half our supporters went down to see what was happening. We thought this was a diversion and erected a barricade in the doorway of a room we thought we could escape from.

At 6 p.m. we had an open student meeting with a group of 200 to 300 to see how many people might stay throughout the night: at 11 p.m. when the building closed, we had about 100 people. We worked out a system of shifts and once this was going, had a meeting upstairs, on the question mainly of whether to throw rocks at the police, as some supporters had brought bags of rocks in. The meeting lasted about 2 hours, eventually decided against by about 80 to 8: this raised the whole question of what the "occupation" was about, whether we were to be seriously defended, etc. The main group in the commune, the R.A.M. had a serious non-violent line and a fairly strong participatory democracy structure. However the Maoists were willing to go along with group decisions. As we had a 2 hour argument on the 2nd night, on using fire-hoses (also decided against 80 to 8) and a 2 hour argument on the 3rd night, on throwing chairs (decided against 200 to 10), it would probably have been a good idea to have had our attitudes to violence fully discussed earlier to save time for people who were exhausted and needed the sleep.

On the second day, lookouts were posted around the Union, but everyone was tired, and it was hard to get people to keep watch seriously. Throughout the day we relied on students who were just using the Union normally to help us if anything happened. There were non-stop press interviews through the morning and part of the afternoon: there was a false alarm in the afternoon and we barricaded again, not knowing for a few hours if anything was happening.

The radio started about an hour and a half late, not, as the press said, with a deadpan female voice, but with the unexpected (we thought it wouldn't work) and beautiful voice of Radio Resistance "bringing power to the People" and the unexpected escalationof "this is a people's radio, this is a people's war". The first broadcast was about 15 minutes, went off the air and came back to repeat the first broadcast and continue with boot-leg LP's of Bob Dylan, short messages on pollution, war profits, and an ad for Down Draft, the Draft Resistance Manual, as well as anti-advertisements attacking nasty or war-materials-involved companies. We were jammed after a couple of hours by the P.M.G. and moved to another frequency, where we were jammed again after an hour.

That night, there was another false alarm, and we found that the barricades we threw up weren't very good, and people got caught on the ground and first floors. We decided to have a barricade building group, made of Maoists and Anarchists, who built and rebuilt barricades all night for practice, and had one member whose job was to see that everyone was off a floor before it was barricaded, and to be the last upstairs. An easier roster system was worked out, and the radio broadcast again during the night.

Wednesday, there were only a few reporters in the morning, like us they were waiting for the raid; we heard that Greenwood had said we would be arrested as soon as we commenced broadcasting. By now our main supporters from Monday and Tuesday were almost totally exhausted, everyone was getting paranoid about police infiltrating, and we'd had a solid knot of tension-pain in our stomachs for three days. We were worried that if we continued, people would stay on to support us who couldn't afford to, who were jeopardising exams, etc. We held a meeting and a large group wanted to call it off - in the end, they were defeated. One problem was that we (the draft resistors) had to speak in favour of continuing as we needed the cover that we'd stay on if we were to get out, assuming the Union to be reasonably surrounded. We wanted to call off the last night, but too many things had already been organised and other people were coming in, so we decided to provoke a raid at 5 p.m. by broadcasting. However, the aerial was down and couldn't be put up till dark.

Wednesday night there were obviously a lot more people: throughout the day we'd manned a draft resistance counselling table, and had just talked a lot more to people helping us. We realised we'd been forced into an elitist position by the fact that we spent so much time with the press and working out escape plans in a small group. Also what we

said on violence was fairly final, as we suggested that if some forms of defence were used, we'd have to withdraw.

We began broadcasting at 11 p.m. with over 200 supporters. This time we arranged security before the nightly violence discussion. Morale was highest in the whole action on Wednesday night, with a lot of singing and plenty of people to guard the building. At about a quarter-to-four, the press came to the door, said the raid would be at 5 o'clock and asked if they could come in and report it.

At 5 a.m. a bloke came to the room we slept in, said he's just seen 30 cops getting out of their cars. We looked out and saw two vans rushing towards us, sirens braying. Tony Dalton and John Scott had left earlier after drawing short straws. Michael Hamel-Green and I climbed into the roof and down a shaft, about 40 inches by 20 inches wide and 10 feet deep. Supporters had barricaded one end of the room; they disguised the way we'd got out and ran through the building opening doors to lay a credible excape route. The police broke into this room first, smashed every cupboard and left. We stayed in the shaft ten hours.

While we were doing this, the sky-rockets were going up and the fog-horn brought about 80 students from the colleges.

The barricades had been made by chains across the stairways with chairs piled against them: the police cut the chains, bringing the whole lot down on top of them, and 2 were injured. The "Tribune" reported seeing one chair dropped by a student who was restrained by the others.

When the police stumbled over the last barricade, it was announced that we were away, and the whole group began chanting "Power to the People" with their fists raised, while the head of the Commonwealth Police began to read from a typed press-release.

So we got away. From the beginning we'd assumed that we were already caught, tried and imprisoned - we'd hoped by taking the offensive to create a positive feeling of resistance, and to get across the tactic of mass gaoling of resistors (over 400 now) as the way to abolish conscription. But Melbourne opened the possibility (apart from doing the

From the beginning, our aim in the draft resistance movement has been to abolish conscription for any purpose. When we wrote to the government refusing to register, we thought it would have to gaol us almost immediately. We thought this would involve the gaoling of at least several hundred. It was important that injustice should not only be done, but should be seen to be done. When it was, people would demand an end to conscription.

The government obviously agreed with us. For seven years they've refused to enforce the National Service Act, practising first a policy of ignoring resisters, and then a policy of gaoling only three or four at a time as examples. At present there are more than four hundred declared draft resisters. At this rate, gaoling them would take over one hundred years.

Faced with this manipulation of the Act, we decided to take the offensive. As draft resisters we had an obligation not only to resist, but to resist effectively. Our present tactics have three aims. The first is to find forms of action that all women and men opposed to conscription can take part in. The second is to carry out actions the Press can't ignore. Our main aim, however, is to provoke the right wing in parliament and the Press to force the government to carry out the Act by issuing arrest warrants for all open draft resisters. We will then force the government to arrest us at some public action. The public will then have to choose between enforcing the National Service Act and abolishing it.

same thing again, and getting caught with conscription already an issue) of building a radical movement aimed at the overthrow of imperialism and the building of a society based on self-management here.

Conscription is the most blatant form of men being used as things, of labour that is completely divorced from man's aims or hopes, of labour that is completely divorced from the creativity or control of the persons living it, of slave labour. Women's Liberation has shown that liberation is not swapping roles, or getting access to the authority positions others have, but in abolishing leader–follower roles, which means a change in the actual lived lives of men and women. All authority over people is using them as things. People must be an end in themselves, not the objects of another's system, but the subject of their own. This means all life must be lived in self-management, and the question is what forms of organisation can lead to it.

Most anarchist propaganda has been misunderstood because anarchist appeals to "smash the State", weren't meant as a political platform of 6 points, "Give me your power and I'll give you this", but as a call to people to liberate themselves by means under their own control. Even in the brief period of anarchist terrorism in France, anarchists were putting a question, calling on others to answer it. This terrorism was soon seen as useless for actual change and anarchists began to join the syndicalist movement that had formed among an awakened proletariat.

Unlike the French and Italian syndicalist movements, the Spanish anarcho-syndicalist union, the C.N.T. developed as a genuine revolutionary organistion. The C.N.T. avoided

WITHIN the left there has been a change from mis-directing the Women's Liberation movement to supporting those aspects of it that have no structural effect on society.

There is support for the idea that women should have equal pay only if they do equal work. Apart from accepting the idea of unequal pay rather than a common rate according to need, this assumes that there are some jobs that are women's jobs and deserve less pay, which is the same as saying there are some jobs which are blacks' jobs and deserve less. And if you say no, it's not the same, the only reason you can give is that blacks are equal but women are inferior.

Opening to women some of the positions of power and exploitation that some men have isn't liberation, but continuing the problem. And in practice for women to "gain" these positions they must become like the men who have them, which isn't the way anyone should be.

The women's movement itself, however, through challenging unexamined personal relations and the received women's roles these are based in, has come to new ideas of what people can be, and has tried to work towards these through organising without authority or hierachy.

The fact that there has been change in men in contact with the women involved in the women's movement rather than through male liberation groups (which have been attempted) is perhaps a sign that while all dominating repressive systems demean both parties, only the dominated/repressed are likely to do anything about it. If effective, they must cause changes in the lives of those who are trying to relate to them in roles they won't play.

It is partly the same idea as that a workers' control revolution in industry would mean change throughout all of society. If there are to be no managers,

the dangers of becoming a reformist trade union or a tool of a Leninist party through its conscious anarchist ideology and organisational structure. While Leninists often describe anarcho-syndicalism as putting its emphasis on the economic rather than political struggle, anarcho-syndicalists rarely say this, describing their emphasis rather as social, as the creation of a free society every aspect of which is under the control of its members and in which politics, in Lenin's sense, have disappeared with the State they're an excuse for.

The C.N.T. was organised from the beginning as the liberation movement of the working class, capable of organising for the revolution while carrying on normal trade union aims of wage improvement in the present. By its use of direct action and refusal to use any institutional way of "solving" disputes, it made every reformist gain a victory of class war, something won in struggle, increasing solidarity towards revolution. The workers were organised in sindicatos unicos by industry, building, etc. Union fees were abolished except for enough to pay one full-time secretary of the Regional Federation of sindicatos unicos. The aim of this was to prevent a bureaucracy with its own interests gaining control and stifling the initiative of the rank and file. This structure also imposed the militancy of the unskilled workers in a factory or industry on the labour aristocracy.

Their activism often leading to protracted strikes to secure the release of a few militants from gaol, was attacked as wasteful by communist and socialist critics, but was in fact one of the sources of their revolutionary potential. It also gave experience in self-organisation to larger groups and in a strike united the working class and agricultural

how will the ex-managers live? If administration is taken up by the producers, the ex-managers must become producers, everybody then being neither managers nor producers but people producing by self-management.

The Draft Resistance Movement both in Australia and America have been associated with a slogan: "Girls say yes to boys who say no". It is a major criticism of the movement that it could accept, even as a joke, a call to take part in exploitation, to join in the use of other people as rewards and objects. It is worse when it is remembered that the slogan was popularized by women (e.g. the Joan Baez poster) in answer to the question: "What is the role of women in the DRM?" Women could see their only answer in reproducing within the movement their roles of commodity and passivity in the most obvious form of sex object and emotional prop for the warriors. That the questioncould be put is a sign of the elitism in the movement. At the DRM conference in September 1971 men not going to jail voted on recommendations for men going to jail; women were excluded from the voting. But their relation to people going to jail was the same as that of the men not going. This exclusion was not a structural effect of different situations but of elitism.

The D.R.M. isn't draft resisters and supporters but all women and men opposed to conscription. Without outside actions the mass jailing of resisters is politically non-existent. Like any group the D.R.M. will be as chauvinist as its allowed to be. To stop this women must develop their own perspectives on conscription and organize around them.

In the meantime, if the slogan "girls say yes to boys who say no" is used, it should only be used with the slogan that goes with it: "blacks say sir to boys who say no"

labourers of a whole area in common action, under a participatory democracy, all being members of the regional Federation. Their activism, and non-payment, brought to the fore a group of militant and capable leaders, revocable at any moment.

Equally important were the aims of the C.N.T., organised towards the destruction of capitalism and the State, and the building of communism and communismo libertario, full anarcho-communism, run by co-operation and workers' control. These aims could hardly be met by any employer or government. The destruction of the actual Russian revolution of markers and peasants by the Bolsheviks had been exposed in the Spanish anarchist press by 1921, and a group who tried to impose Leninist organisation on the C.N.T. found it impossible because of its decentralised power and direct democracy structure.

When the Civil War broke out in 1936, the C.N.T. had 1,600,000 members. Anarchist workers, along with Socialist workers acting acting against their party's orders, carried out large-scale workers' control in industry and agriculture, which is now generally admitted to have worked successfully. They also set about immediately introducing schools and medical services. While they weakened their position by co-operating with the Republic rather than ignoring it, they were beaten not because their system was unworkable, but because they were physically destroyed by Franco's troops backed by Hitler and Mussolini on one side, and communist assault guards backed by Stalin's aid, on the other.

In my own union, the Builders' Labourers' Federation, the executive receive the same pay as a builder's labourer and go off pay when a strike is on. Meetings are run by direct democracy, and a microphone is always provided so anyone can speak from the floor. There is a genuine aim of near equality in wages, with the idea that the ratio between the highest grade builder's labourer and a tradesman should be 90-100. In the militant tactics used against work done by scabs there is a growing consciousness that the work materials are part of a system and belong to the men as much as the boss, and that changes come from a struggle in which the boss gives as much as is taken.

One of the problems has been that in Australia union executives are fairly good at getting material gains, and its rank and file sit back and let them, while in England the unions have a more obviously conservative role in modern capitalism, and shop steward militancy has been necessary for gain in most areas, with men having to organise themselves. Slowly, as in the Atlantean buses dispute, issues of control are coming in, and builder's labourers have taken up the question of safety and work conditions. Since people spend most of their lives on the job this can develop into questions of what sort of life you want, and whether anyone but you is likely to give it to you.

Revolutionary idiology, the **coherence of the separate,** in which Lenninism represents the greatest voluntaristic attempt, maintaining control over a reality that rejects it, returns to **its truth in incoherence** with Stalinism. At that point idealogy is no longer a weapon but a goal.

E. G. Whitlam: Obsolete Centrism: The Syndaclist Alternative

France, 1968, raises the issue of what an anarchist who is still serious about self-management does in a non-anarchist revolution. The role of the anarchist seems to be to stay in the mass-movement, trying to push the revolution further to the left, arguing that elected committees be revocable, that final decisions always come from the mass meeting, that committees be rotating, so that everyone in a factory is a member of all its committees within one or two years, that committees be used for particular purposes and then disbanded. The main problems are stopping expert advice becoming management, and particularism (the idea that a workers control run factory would only look after its own interests) possibly exploiting other groups of workers. Also the workers who carry this through may still want some form of State as well.

However, self-management, as in France 1968, is not full classless society but the way to it. The aim is to build anarchism-socialism from the base up, learning to solve the problems of self management in practice. The point is that only women and men organised to struggle constantly for full and direct control of their own work-places, schools and communities can begin to devolve state power into local self-management. For it to go beyond this anarchists must develop a workable federalism. Possibly there are times when they can be only an opposition, loyal to the revolutionary self-management, an active opponent of the "withering" state.

The C.N.T. and the Melbourne Union Resistance Commune have shown that self-managing groups can resist manipulation by genuine comrades with unfortunately authoritarian ideas, and still be a movement that people of many views can take an active part in. It is important that half our supporters were women, organising equally (?) in a structure of self-management which is the minimum definition of the new society.

The Spanish anarchist Santillan said, "Either the workers have full self-management, and the State is abolished, or they do not, and the struggle goes on". Whether the Draft Resistance movement becomes a movement that will lead people to take control of their lives as their own, depends on what we do with our lives, on whether we are willing to live lives of continual struggle against all authority.

Michael MATTESON

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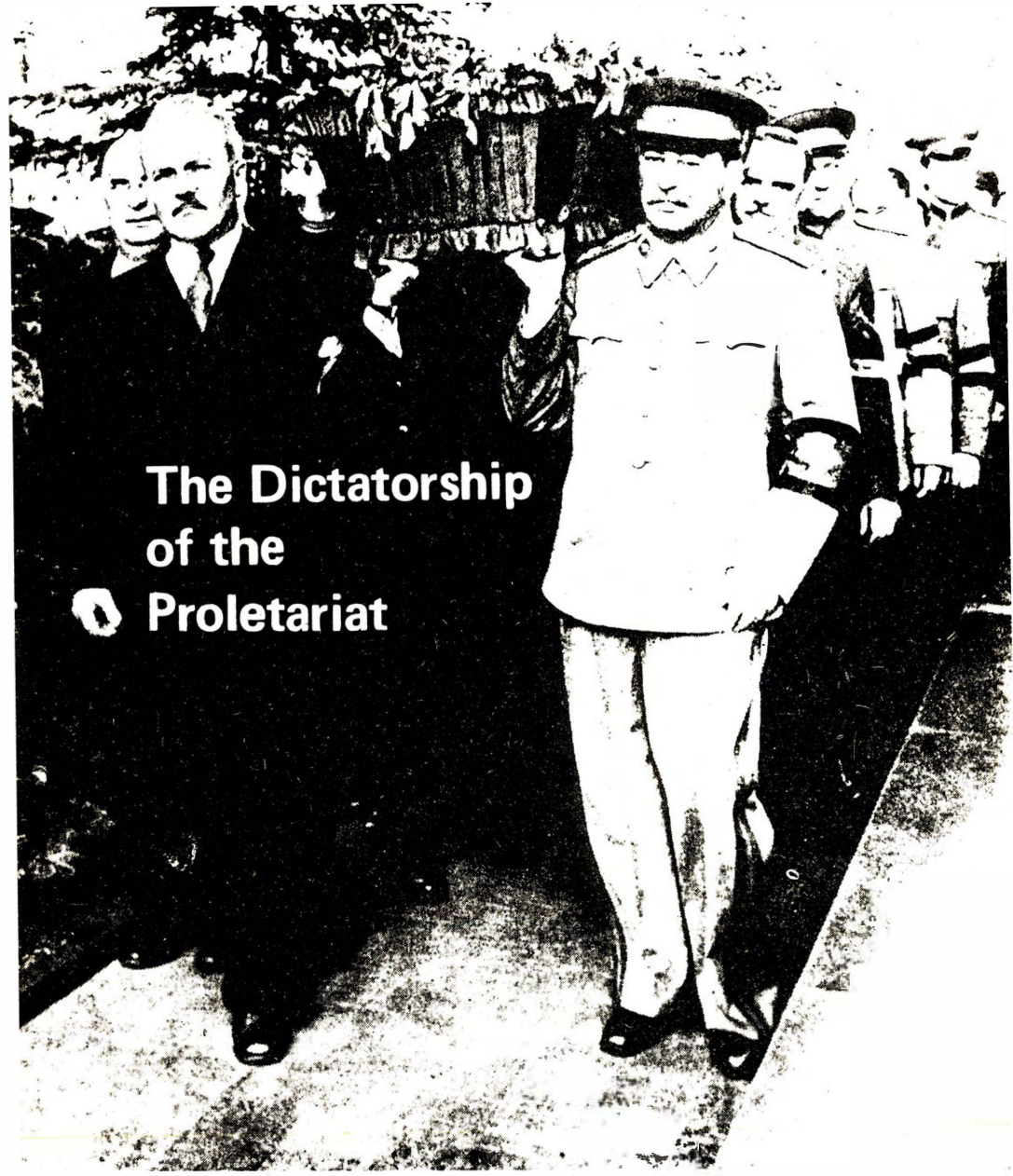


The Dictatorship of the Proletariat

By Di Highman

"One day the working class must hold political power in its hands in order to establish a new organization of power; it must overthrow the old political system which maintains the old institutions in being, unless it wishes, like the early Christians, who despised and neglected such action, to renounce 'the kingdom of this world.' " KARL MARX (1)

MARX & ENGELS on "Dictatorship of the Proletariat"

When Marx wrote about the socialist revolution he distinguished between two specific, but not separate, phases of revolutionary struggle – the political revolution and the social revolution.

The political revolution involves the seizure of political power by the proletariat, whose task is then not to "transfer the bureaucratic–military machine from one hand to another, but to smash it." (2) Far from signifying an end to the struggle, the political revolution opens the door to a period of intense class conflict during which the proletariat uses its newly acquired political power to both suppress the bourgeoisie and create its own institutions and new social relationships to replace the old order.

The significance of the political revolution then, is that it gives the proletariat the *means* to achieve the social revolution i.e., the transition from capitalism to socialism, by enabling it to establish a workers' state and exercise the "dictatorship of the proletariat."

For Marx, the "dictatorship of the proletariat" was synonymous with a workers' democracy i.e., it was to be a social dictatorship of the workers over their previous masters. Just as under the old bourgeois regime the ruling class of capitalist and landlords had used state power "to protect their social prerogatives", (3) and had enjoyed freedom, rights and prosperity at the expense of the exploited majority, so under the workers' state the proletariat,the vast majority, was to enjoy freedom and democracy while capital was to be held in subjection and prevented from regaining its previous hegemony of power

> "...the state is only a transitional institution which is used in the struggle, in the revolution, in order to hold down one's adversaries by force ... so long as the proletariat still *uses* the state, it does not use it in the interests of freedom but in order to hold down its adversaries..." (4)

Marx however believed that the workers' state was different from all previous states in that it involved the suppression of a minority exploiting class by the majority class of toilers and not a minority dictatorship over the majority.

The workers' state was also to be transitional because a time was foreseen when all class antagonisms would be abolished and its continued existence made redundant.The "withering away" of the state, and hence of the proletarian dictatorship, would culminate in the achievement of the communist (classless, stateless) society.

This then is a brief outline of Marx and Engles' conception of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" and its role in the establishment of communism. Yet by itself, this exposition is highly ambiguous, and one needs to ask what exactly Marx and Engels mean by "of the proletariat". Three interpretations seem feasible: either they mean the *entire* proletariat, a section of the proletariat, or some other body or group acting *in the name of* the proletariat. The crucial question to ask is "Who carries out the "dictatorship of the proletariat"?

Despite attempts made by Lenin to assign the term "dictatorship of the proletariat" an important role in Marx's writings, it was in fact seldom used and occupied a position of only minor importance. Marx and Engels were never really explicit about who was to implement the dictatorship, however Engels' statement –

> "...gentlemen, do you want to know what this dictatorship looks like? Look at the Paris Commune. This was the Dictatorship of the Proletariat." (5)

has some important implications, especially when one realises that the Paris Commune, as well as being "essentially a working class government, the product of the struggle of the producing against the appropriating class" (6) was also a movement which manifestly repudiated the principles of the state and authority.

The Commune drove yet another nail into the coffin for the idea that the working class needs a state to carry out its social revolution, ie,as an institution *existing above and beyond this class,* superfluous. The events of 1871 served only to vindicate the anti-state theories, promulgatedfirst by Proudhon and later by Bakunin, which Marx had come out against so vehemently during the years of the First International.

Marx and Engels were compelled by the force of circumstances and the fear of being "left behind", to commend the anti-state forms and libertarian tendencies of the Paris Commune which were anathema to their own pro-state, pro-authority doctrine. It should be noted here in passing that Lenin found himself in a similar predicament after the 1917 February Revolution when the soviets (which were analagous to the "Communes" of 1871) re-emerged. Fearful that he might otherwise lose contact with the revolutionary masses, Lenin was forced to both accept and praise the existence of the soviets which he could not control. His writings during this period, especially *The State and Revolution,* are markedly libertarian — however, once in power he did all he could to forget them and have them forgotten.

What initially appears as a contradiction between Marx and Engels' endorsement of an authoritarian, pro-state conception of the proletarian dictatorship *in theory,* and of a libertarian, anti-state one *in practise,* in fact belies an ambivalence which is continually present in their writings.

This ambivalence is the result of the conflict between the belief, on the one hand, that the proletariat *itself* is the agent of revolutionary change i.e., that the working class, through its deplorable life-experiences under capitalism, is necessarily driven towards self-emancipation by revolution, (7) and the inability, on the other hand, to transcend their own class ideas about the need for leadership and authority. (Unwittingly, both Marx and Engels show just how true the formers' dictum, that the ruling ideas during any epoch are the ideas of the ruling class, actually is!).

Consequently there are two trends within Marxism — the authoritarian and the libertarian. After 1871 Marx and Engels rejected quite a number of their ideas on the highly centralized workers' state which were outlined in the *Communist Manifesto* of 1848 (8) and replaced them with a more flexible plan for the workers' "state" based on the experiences of the Paris Commune — self-government of the producers based on organs of direct workers' representation, in which the representatives or "deputies" would be elected on the principle of universal suffrage, be revocable at any time, and bound by the instructions of the constituents. In this way Marx and Engels envisaged that the organization and control of the workers' state i.e., the dictatorship of the proletariat", would be undertaken by the workers themselves. Despite their (i.e., Marx andEngels') continual references to "the workers' state", in reality, because the proletariat would have *control over itself,* a state, in the true sense of the word, i.e., as a ruling power existing over, against and separate from society, would no longer exist.

On the basis of their later writings then, for Marx and Engels the socialist revolution was truly to be a "peoples' revolution, a revolution of the people, for the people and by the people," a struggle in which the proletariat *en masse* played the primary role in destroying the old order and building the new. In the years to come, however, Lenin was to relegate the primary role to a party of "professional revolutionaries" who were to both make the revolution and carry out the proletarian dictatorship in the name and "interests" of the working people.

> "They have come to think that what they think and what they want is thought and wanted by their sections, so that they have not even any need to consult them in order to know what they must decide to do in their name." MICHAEL BAKUNIN (9)

LENIN on "Dictatorship of the Proletariat"

Lenin's conception of the dictatorship of the proletariat seems quite simple. Its outlined objectives were identical with those expounded by Marx and Engels – i.e., the "dictatorship of the proletariat" was to be a transitional period during which the organised force of the workers' state would be used to suppress the bourgeoisie, prevent counter-revolution and build socialism,

> ...the state is only a transitional institution which we are obliged to use in the revolutionary struggle in order to crush our opponents forcibly" (10)

Yet even here subtle changes were being made, for once in power, the Bolsheviks themselves were able to define just who the "opponents" were. No longer was the force of the workers' state to be directed solely against the bourgeoisie and its collaborators.

For Lenin, the proletarian dictatorship was to be implemented by the "vanguard of the proletariat", the Bolshevik/Communist Party, since it alone had a superior knowledge, commitment and foresight, it alone knew the "real interests" of the proletariat which, unless "trained" (11) by the professional revolutionaries, could never achieve a socialist consciousness. In other words, the Party was to be the brains of the movement, without which the body (the masses) could not act. Initially Lenin cast the Party as totally indispensible to the revolutionary movement; it soon became the embodiment of the revolution so that whoever questioned the Party (i.e., Lenin) committed a counter-revolutionary crime. Under Lenin and the Bolsheviks (and later Stalin), the "dictatorship of the proletariat" was to become the iron-fisted dictatorship (of the Party) OVER the proletariat. This was a drastic departure from Marx and Engels' proletarian dictatorship "of the immense majority in the interests of the immense majority" (12)

Lenin's conception of the relationship between Party and class belies his own attitude towards the proletariat – i.e., his gross underestimation of the creative potential of the working class and its ability to take voluntary, co-ordinated and deliberate action, plus his refusal to acknowledge its spontaneity, its ability to think for itself, to learn from experience, and most of all its capacity for self-management.

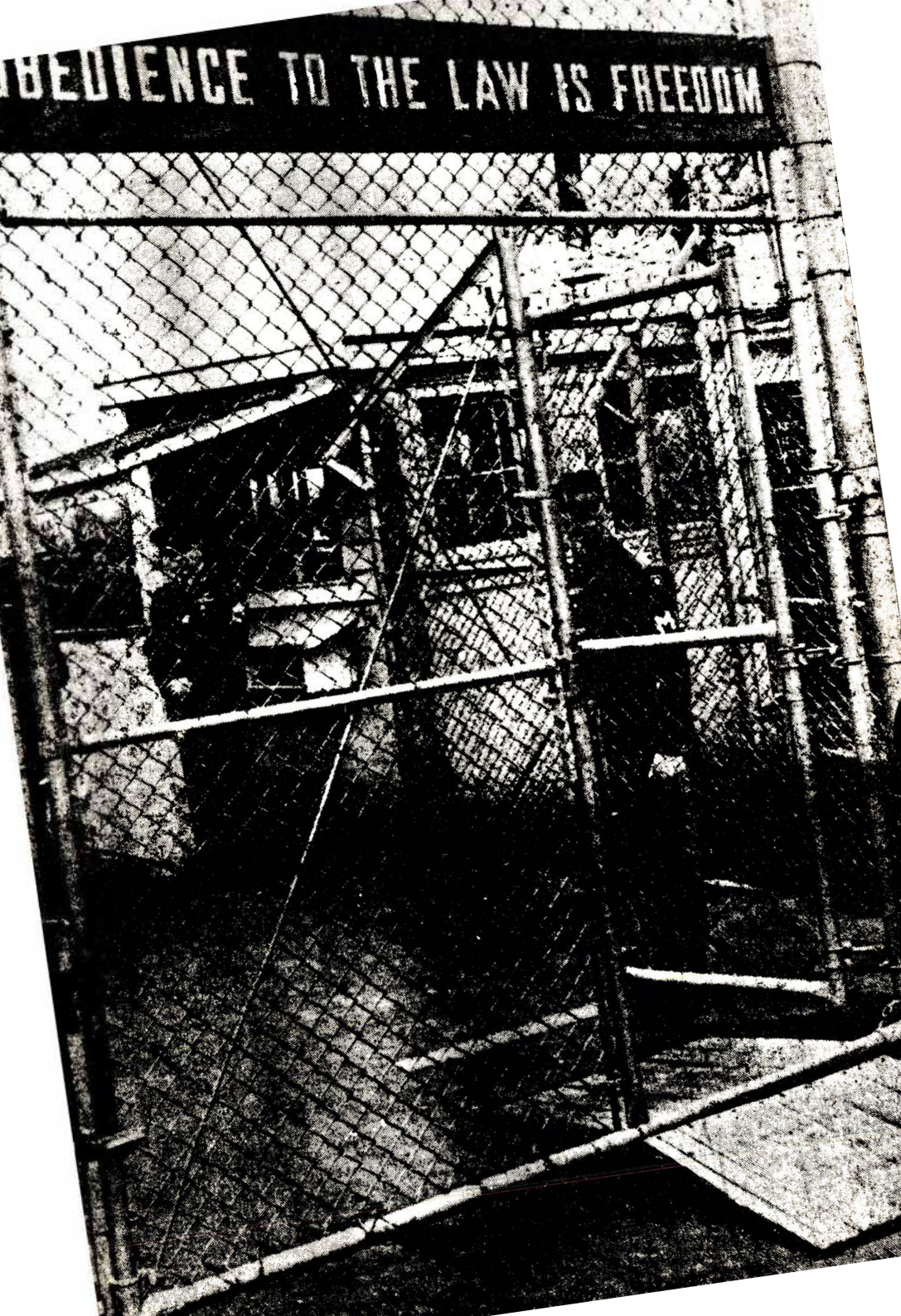
Rosa Luxemburg, with her boundless faith in the "creative initiative" of the masses, came out against Lenin's ultra-centralism which sought to isolate the revolutionary movement from its very life-source – the labouring masses.

> "The ultra-centralism advocated by Lenin is not something born of a positive creative spirit but of the negative sterile spirit of the watchman. His line of thought is cut to the control of party activity, not to its fructifying; to its narrowing, not unleashing; to the role of task master, not of gatherer and unifier." (13)

Lenin's view of the masses was a negative one; the role of the Party was to strait-jacket the spontaneous movement of the masses, to keep their activities within acceptable limits so that its own primacy could be maintained. The vast repository of energy and power presented by the masses had to be harnessed and utilized – subjugated to the iron will of the Party, their "saviour." In a word, Lenin's attutude towards the working class was paternalistic – because the proletariat was unaware of its "true interests", it had to be led; if it refused to pursue these "interests" (as defined by the Party), it had to be coerced. The right to determine and act upon its own decisions simply did not enter into the picture.

The events following the October seizure of power show, again and again, the real nature of Lenin's paternalism. The proletariat's "need" for leadership and direction was transformed into a fetish that then acted *against* any attempts to develop and extend the socialist revolution. *The Party became master of the proletariat instead of the proletariat becoming master of the new society and its own destiny*

"No social organization except the army has ever considered itself justified in


OBEDIENCE TO THE LAW IS FREEDOM

subordinating citizens to itself in such a degree as the state of the proletarian dictatorship considers itself justified in doing, and es." LEON TROTSKY (14)

TROTSKY on "Dictatorship of the Proletariat"

Prior to 1917 Trotsky opposed the Bolshevik conception of the dictatorship of a party *over* the proletariat. During this period, Trotsky, like Marx and Engels before him, believed that the proletarian dictatorship was inconceivable without the mass of the proletariat united in desiring it, and that it would be sheer folly for a small band of revolutionary conspirators or a minority party to attempt to monopolize state power in the name of the working class.

At the second conference of the Russian Social-Democratic Party in 1905, Trotsky had sided with the Mensheriks on the issue of the organizational structure of the Party, opposing Lenin's "Blanquist" conception of it as a small, tightly-knit group of revolutionaries, in favour of a more broadly based democratic movement.

Following the split which occurred at that conference over the issue of Party organization, Trotsky made two prophetic attacks on Lenin – "Report of the Siberian Delegation" and "Our Political Tasks" – in which the future Bolshevik leader was prophetically portrayed as a

> "...Caricature Robespierre, talking socialism but modelling himself on the dictatorial bourgeois revolutionary, setting up a pseudo – Jacobin dictatorship over the masses, installing a committee of public safety over the party, using the "guillotine" to eliminate those he could not control" (15)

As early as 1902, when Lenin was writing *What Is To Be Done,* Trotsky realized that Lenin's centralism would lead to a situation where "the Party substituted itself for the working class, the Central Committee for the Party, the Politburo for the Central Committee and finally the General Secretary for the Politburo." (16) Ironically, each of these predictions did materialize, often with Trotsky's own assistance.

However, from May 1917 onwards, (i.e., after Trotsky's return to Russia from New York) he increasingly aligned himself with the Leninist political platform so that by the time the October Revolution occurred, he had already joined the Bolshevik faction and accepted lock, steel and barrel their ideas of the vanguard Party and the party dictatorship. In 1920, in *Terrorism and Communism,* Trotsky the Bolshevik was able to say

> "We have more than once been accused of having substituted for the dictatorship of the Soviets the dictatorship of our Party . . . Inthis "substitution" of the power of the party for the power of the working class there is nothing accidental, and in reality there is no substitution at all. *The Communists express the fundamental interests of the working class." (17)*

How conveniently Trotsky forgot his warnings of 1902.

> *"Liberty without Socialism is privilege, injustice; and Socialism without liberty is slavery and brutality." MICHAEL BAKUNIN*

STALIN on the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat"

Stalin's version of the proletarian dictatorship was similar to that of Lenin and Trotsky i.e. he ascribed to the party dictatorship *over* the proletariat. However in practise Stalin went one step further by identifying his sole personal dictatorship with the Party dictatorship. In this way Trotsky's 1902 prediction (that the General Secretary or single man dictatorship would replace the Politburo or collective dictatorship) was vindicated.

In *Problems of Leninism* Stalin speaks of the proletarian dictatorship as "special organ" (18) i.e. as if was a single institution (the Party), whereas Marx and Engles used

the term to apply to a particular form of social organisation in which the proletariat was to be supreme. In other words, for Marx and Engles, the "dictatorship of the proletariat" was not just confined to the political sphere, but was economic, cultural and judicial as well - it signified the ascendancy of the working class in each and every domain where the bourgeoisie were once dominant.

In effect, Stalin's writings on the proletarian dictatorship and the worker's state are either a rehash/elaboration of what Lenin wrote on the topic or a rationalization for his own policies and tactics.

Having so far both outlined what Marx and Engles meant by the term "dictatorship of the proletariat" and shown the changes this concept underwent in the hands of Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin, the rest of this essay will involve an investigation of post-revolutionary Russia from 1917-1921 in an attempt to find out if the proletarian dictatorship is "a revolutionary power based on the use of force against the bourgeoisie" (19) and if it is not, to ascertain just what it has proven to be.

> ...a real people's revolution (occurs when) ... the mass of the people, the majority, the "lowest social ranks" crushed by operation and exploitation, (rise) ... (and) put on the entire course of the revolution the impress of *their* demands, of *their* attempts to build their own way a new society in place of the old society ... being destroyed" LENIN (20)
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1917--1921

The 1917 February Revolution in Russia, the result of the direct and spontaneous activity of the masses, brought about the overthrow of the Tsarist autocracy. This revolution occurred *despite* the various political parties and their leaders -- and if the Bolsheviks took part, they did so as individuals, not as instigators or a coherent, prepared vanguard. If this mass revolutionary action came as a surprise to the Tsar, it was nevertheless so for Lenin and the Bolsheviks.

The Liberal Monarchist Prince Lvov formed a Provisional Government (P.G.) with the liberal professor Miliukov as Foreign Minister and the quasi-left ex-deputy Kevensky as Minister of Justice.

At its inception, the P.G. supported the Petersburg Council of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies (the Petersburg Soviet) which had sprung into existence a few days before the abdication of the Tsar, on March 2. The Petersburg Soviet was not only the representative organ of the lower class, but also the defacto executive power, without whose endorsement the P.G. was unable to carry out any of its decisions. The Soviet, and its counterparts which sprang up all over Russia after February, were organs of direct working class power, they were "taking" and "acting" bodies directly analogous to the "Communes" which emerged in Paris during 1871, and which Marx and Engels had described as the embodiment of proletarian power and nominated as the ideal means for exercising the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Thus in Russia after February there were *two* centres of power - the P.G., which drew its strength from the provinces and represented the moderate bourgeoisie, and the Petersburg Soviet which was based in the capital and supported by the working class.

Lenin returned to Russia in April 1917 and astounded many of his Bolshevik followers when he broke with the tactics of old and laid down new more flexible ones. "Moderates" such as Stalin and Kamenev wanted the Bolsheviks to give support to Prince

Lvov's administration, i.e. they were following the orthodox Marxist line which held that since February had been a bourgeois, anti-feudal revolution, all that could possibly be hoped for would be the establishment of a democratic republic and capitalism. Lenin refused to have anything to do with such "orthodoxy", and exhorted his comrades not to support the P.G., to avoid making any rapprochement with other political parties and above all to make the revolution anti-capitalist as well as anti-feudal, to smash both the bourgeoisie and the landlords and set up the proletarian dictatorship. At this stage strangely enough, Lenin the Blanquist expressed the belief that only the masses could achieve the proletarian revolution. While not advocating the seizure of power, there and then, by the Bolsheviks and their followers, Lenin was elaborating his present position and making his breach with the Bolshevism of the past, crystal clear.

This "new Bolshevism" sparked off a considerable amount of resentment both within the Party and without. Large sections of the Petersburg sailors, soldiers, workers and students expressed deep discontent over Lenin's return. Sailors of the Second Baltic Fleet passed a resolution condemning his acceptance of German aid; a delegation of war veterans marched to the Tauride Palace and called for Lenin's expulsion from Russia; the Soldiers' section of the Petersburg Soviet passed a resolution for "a systematic fight against the Leninists" (21); even the question of Lenin's arrest and imprisonment was being considered.

Within the Party the extreme right and some moderates hurled accusations at Lenin – "Trotskyist", "the new Bakunin", "anarchist plotter" (22), "madman". However, after a few days of intensive debate, Lenin emerged triumphant, carrying the bulk of the Party with him.

Matters were also beginning to improve for Bolshevism itself. A shattered Party

because of the reaction after the 1905 Revolution, it had a membership of 30,000 during the February revolution and by April, 133 delegates at a national conference represented about 76,000 members (23). Though only a handful of men whose influence would be swamped during a parliamentary election, these Bolsheviks were generally well organised, disciplined key-men operating from decisive vantage points within industry, transport, the army and Soviets, so that in effect they wielded a steadily growing influence over the mass of workers and soldiers. (24)

During May and June, revolutionary fervour and anticipation continued to rise in Petersburg and the Bolshevik slogans "Down with the Ten Capitalist Ministers" and "All Power to the Soviets" fell on fertile grounds. More and more the revolutionary current of the moment seemed to be sweeping people up and depositing them on the Bolshevik "bank". During the two month period alone, thousands of Menshevik workers were converted to Bolshevism.

All attempted armed uprising by Putilov factory-workers, Kronstadt sailors and the pro-Bolshevik 176th Reserve regiment in July failed to come off. The Bolshevik leaders, fearing the revolt to be inopportune and liable to jeopardize their "image" with the growing number of supporters, were forced to play the situation "by ear". Consequently, their attitudes ranged from hesitancy and caution to outright discouragement of the insurrection.

The "July days" fiasco set the Bolsheviks back a little, but not as much as many expected or hoped, and with the suppression of the Kornilov coup against the P.G. the Bolsheviks "emerged from the crisis with the halo of the most determined, if not the only, defenders of the revolution". (25)

Day by day the Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries (S.R.'s) discredited themselves in the eyes of the masses by continually refusing to end their partnership in the P.G. with the Kadets, Kornilov's accomplices; day by day the popularity of the Bolshevik grew. This trend was reflected in the fact that after recent by-election, the Bolsheviks became the majority party in the Petersburg Soviet; similar shifts in popularity were revealed in Moscow and other towns. "All Power to the Soviets" was now for Lenin, legitimately synonymous with "All Power to the Bolsheviks". By this time it was the end of September.

On October 24, Bolshevik forces directed by Leon Trotsky occupied strategic positions in Petersburg and in an almost bloodless coup overthrew the P.G. and seized political power. The vanguard Party had seized power in the name of the proletariat. With this one act, a whole epoch of Russian history ended and an entirely new age - the dictatorship of the proletariat and the emergence of the worker's paradise - was set to begin.

In September 1917, while in Finland the "libertarian" Lenin had written in *The State and Revolution*

> "All the mechanisms of the bourgeois state are restrictions to exclude and squeeze out the poor from politics, from active participation in democracy. *A Socialist revolution that maintains this type of state would keep alive the separation between the masses and power, their independence and subordination." (26)*

Thus for him at this stage, the socialist revolution was to be a revolution to end all masters. However, once in power it was the *authoritarian,* not the libertarian aspect of Leninism which gained ascendancy, and Lenin soon forgot his own admonitions. What he had been warning against in September 1917, he was putting into practice from late 1917 onwards.

In fact, the maintenance of this separation between the masses and power and continuation of their dependence and subordination was then, and is now, the basis of Leninist politics. Hence, the notions of the "vanguard Party", (i.e. the maintenance of the leader-led division), of the Party dictatorship (maintenance of the ruler(s) - ruled

dichotomy) and the idea that "we want the socialist revolution with human nature as it is now, with human nature that cannot dispense with subordination control and "managers" (27) (i.e. the retention of the order-giving - order-taking divisions).

Far from being a *total* revolution i.e. a fundamental change in man and his social relationships, the Russian Revolution was simply a change in management: the class nature of the society still remained unchanged - despite the liquidation of the nobility and bourgeoisies, past-revolution-Russia still retained the division between the handful who *dominated* and the vast majority who *were dominated.*

It is indisputed that during the period of civil war in Russia, (i.e. 1918 - 21) the workers' state was involved in an all out, gargantuan effort to suppress the previous feudal and bourgeois masters. In this sense then the dictatorship of the proletariat was a "revolutionary power based on the use of force against the bourgeoisie". Yet running parallel to this suppression of counter-revolution was another form of suppression - the suppression of the *libertarian revolution,* that struggle of workers, peasants, soldiers and sailors *against masters of any sort,* be they Tsars, capitalists or communists, which aimed at enabling the producers to take control of their own lives and manage society themselves.

Isaac Deutseher, in his book *The Unfinished Revolution* outlines what he believes were the cause(s) of the degeneration of the Russian Revolution. His thesis is that the "rot" was the result of the "running together" of the bourgeoisie and proletarian revolutions which have contradictory aims. Thus the bourgeois revolution creates the conditions under which bourgeois (private) property can flourish whereas the proletarian revolution creates the condition under which socialist (i.e. socialized) property can prosper.

The thesis of this essay is not that the degeneration was caused by the co-existence of conflicting property relations, i.e. private vs. socialized property, but by the failure/refusal of the Bolsheviks to carry out the proletarian revolution *in toto* - namely to revolutionize the social relations of production *as well as* the legal (property) relations. The essential conflict is not so much between the bourgeois and proletarian revolutions as *between the authoritarian and libertarian revolutions.*

The authoritarians revolution is distinguishable from the libertarian revolution in what id does NOT seek to change. In a word, it seeks to alter anything but those relations into which individuals or groups enter with one another during the process of producing wealth (28), i.e. it maintains, untouched the authoritarian relations of production, the give-orders - take-orders relationship and the producers non-control of even the productive process and the goods he creates. The authoritarian revolution is an unfinished revolution, for while the revolutionizing of property relations is *necessary* for the establishment of a socialist society, it is *not sufficient.* A change in the legal relations of a society does not necessarily imply a similar change in the social relations of production: the former does *not* mirror the latter. Engles was well aware of this fact, and wrote in 1890:

> "The reflection of economic relations as legal principles is neccessarily ... a topsy turvy one." (29)

Thus an authoritarian revolution can issue in fundamental changes, (e.g. property can pass from private hands into those of a powerful state bureaucracy and institutions can change), yet because the social relations have not been revolutionized it cannot lead to the total emancipation of the working masses, nor to the classless society. In such a revolution the masses change one master for another, they do not rid him forever.

The libertarian revolution, on the other hand, aims at a TOTAL revolution by changing both property and social relations via the socialization of property, abolition of the give-orders - take-orders hierarchy and workers' self-management.

In Russia, despite audacious and persistent attempts to carry out the libertarian revolution, by 1921 the Bolshevik state and its organized force, had crushed the

movement and the authoritarian revolution had triumphed.

"Where authority begins, there the revolution ends" *G OLOS TRUDA,* (30)

THE FACTORY COMMITTEE

The Factory Committee emerged in Russia as a spontaneous product of the February Revolution. These committee representing the workers' vital interests, were organised on the factory and shop level, and before long were functioning in every industrial centre of European Russia. Having started within the large enterprises, they soon spread to all but the smallest. From the very onset, the Factory Committees demands were not solely confined to matters concerning wages, conditions, length of working hours, etc. - *they also wanted a voice in management.*

This demand for "workers control" had not been invented or imposed upon the workers by any radical or political party, but rather, it too was "born of the storms of revolution", (32) and had evolved just as spontaneously as the Workers' Committee themselves.

Even during the period prior to the October Bolshevik coup there were many and varying interpretations of the expression "workers' control" (rabochii kontrol) ranging from workers' surveillance of their employers to outright seizure of the factories, expulsion of the capitalists and management of production by the workers themselves. (33) By October, at least some form of workers' control existed in the majority of Russian enterprises, and, as events were later to show, there were more than just a few radical workmen who saw "control" and out-right expropriation of the capitalists as being synonymous. Both before, and especially after, October, the Factory Committees, often aided by local soviets "boldly ousted the management and assumed direct control of their respective plants". (34) As Victor Serge was wont to point out, the initiative for the socialization of the means of production came from the masses themselves, not from the Party, and was often in defiance of orders to the contrary. (35)

Although Lenin was quite aware that the demands for the maintenance of the Committees and the introduction of workers' self-management in industry were those of libertarians, anarcho-syndicalists and other unafflicted radicals, he and his Party expressed support for both of these objectives *for the time being.*

At this stage the most outspoken opponents of the Factory Committees and workers' control within the labour movement itself, were the Mensheviks. Their persistent efforts to subordinate the Plant and Factory Committees to the trade unions were only later to be outdone by the Bolsheviks themselves. Before the Bolsheviks were in power, Lenin saw considerable gains to be had from supporting the libertarian programmes spontaneously introduced by the workers themselves. For one thing, it meant the consolidation of a base amongst those very same proletarians. Thus, for a time, the Bolsheviks allowed themselves to be carried along on a wave of growing syndicalist emotion amongst the Petrograd workers (36) and formed a tentative alliance with the anarchists against the Mensheviks.

Yet even though Lenin subscribed to the demands for workers' control, it was only later that the discrepancy between his definition and the meaning given the term by libertarians became obvious. Nowhere in Lenin's writings is "workers' control" ever equated with decision-making powers in matters of production. In "Can the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?" he equates workers' control with accountancy, i.e. with checking the execution of *decisions made by others* (37). Because Lenin believed that the workers' state would not be able to take over and run industry for itself immediately, he envisaged a transitional period during which the bourgeoisie would retain formal ownership and management over most of the means of production, but would also be coerced into co-operating with the proletariat. Workers' control, simply another facet of the dictatorship of the proletariat, was the instrument by which this "co-operation" was to be achieved. (38).

Thus for the Bolsheviks, "workers' control" (even in the limited sense in which they defined it) was simply a tactical consideration and matter of principle. During 1917, they had supported autogestion in the form of the Factory Committees, not because they viewed it as the organizational basis of the new society and an essential condition for the total emancipation of the working masses, but because of its power to undermine the bourgeois state.

It is little wonder then that soon after their ascension to power, the Bolsheviks waged an all out struggle to smash the very last vestige of workers' self-management lest it undermine their own newly acquired hegemony of power. Despite his rhetoric about the socialist revolution being a people's revolution, about proletarian power, power and workers' control, the realization of these objectives in practice was totally untenable to Lenin because they would have made the Bolshevik Party *superfluous.*

While the libertarian revolution aimed at giving the mass of the people control over their own lives and destinies, the authoritarian revolution aimed at allowing the Party to manage the people's lives for them.

Thus one finds the paradoxical situation in post-revolution Russia, where the condition for the continuing viability of the workers' state and dictatorship of the Party is the enslavement and subjugation of that very same proletariat which is supposed to wield power. This paradox is reflected in Lenin's statement of 1921 that,

> "the syndicalist deviation (i.e. workers' self management) leads to the fall of the dictatorship of the proletariat." (39)

Although the Decree of November 14, 1917 appeared to give official sanction to workers' self-management, the Bolsheviks had no intention of tolerating workers' control even in the sense of book-keeping - for very long. Even before the end of 1917 the Bolsheviks were more and more coming to regard the Factory Committees, the spontaneous organizations of the producers as something which they could not control and which therefore posed a *real* threat to the supremacy of the Party. Determined to remove this threat to their recent monopoly of power, Lenin initiated a series of measures designed to bring the Factory Committees under state control and to place the regulation of industry in the hands of a central authority.

The first task was to subordinate the Factory Committees to the All Russian Council for Workers' Control (ARCWC) in which the unions, already under strong Party influence, were heavily represented (40). The next step in the subordination of the Workers' Council was to incorporate the ARCWC into the Vesenkha, the Supreme Economic Council (which was even more union-dominated) that had been created by Lenin on December 1, 1917. Vesenkha's job was to produce plans for the over-all regulation of the economy. Although the pwoer of the Factory Committees could not be disposed of overnight, an enormous step had been taken toward the "statization" and centralization of economic authority. (41)

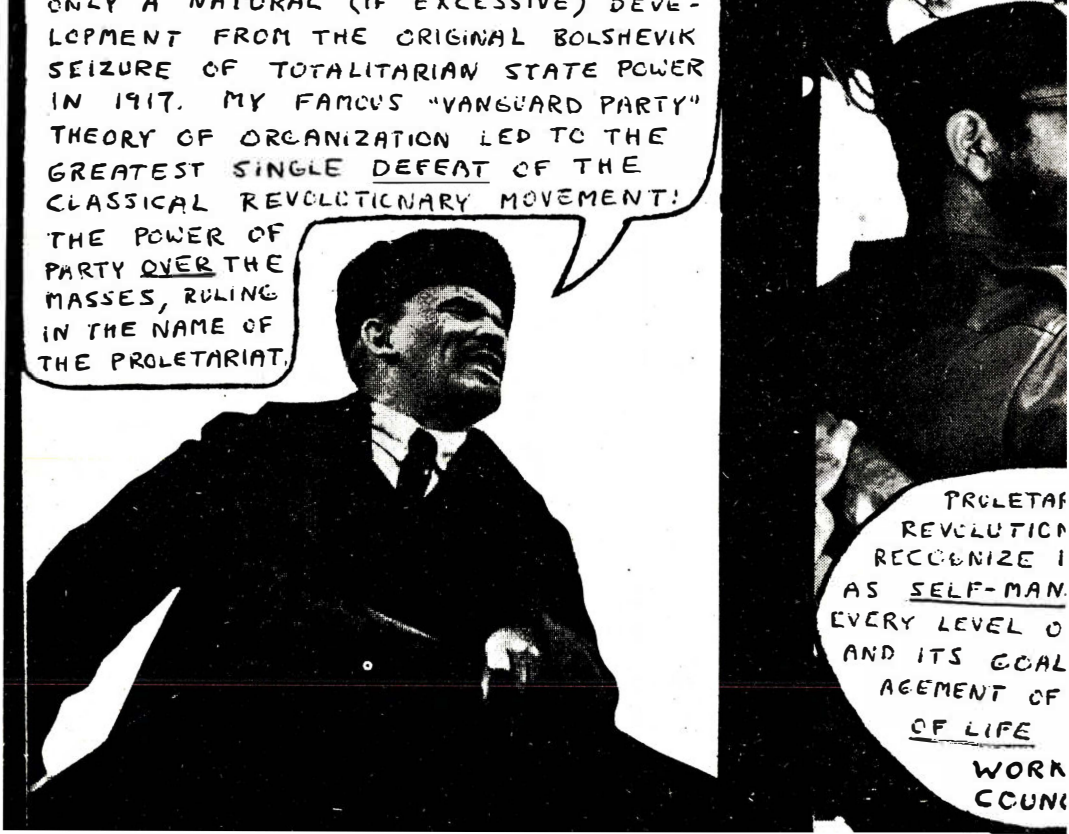
Once the Factory Committes had been transformed into local union cells, an all-out attack was launched on the trade unions to curtail their power. The "new" role of the trade unions was to discipline and "educate" the workers under the supervision of the Party; the unions were now to become instruments of the state used against the workers, not organs of the worker to be used against their employer, the state. As Guevin says,

> "After the preliminary take-over of the trade unions from the factory committees, the trade unions themselves were tanned, deprived of their authority and purged so that at the end of the process any anarcho-syndicalist tendency had been annihilated and the trade union movement had been completely subordinated to the state and a single party." (42)

Wek by week, and month by month, attempts made by large sections of the working class to control their own lives, to revolutionize the social relations of production, were systematically suppressed by the new Bolshevik masters, and the achievements of the

libertarian revolution undone. The Soviets too, once authentic working class organs, were soon watered down and converted into organs of the Bolshevik Party. Previously the Soviets had been *non-political* giving representation to all areas of working class opinion - this had been one of their most important characteristics. Now they were politicized, and no longer soviets in the proper sense of the word.

The socialization of the means of production soon became nationalization by the Decree of May 28, 1918; the management of enterprises by the producers themselves was replaced by the single manager, more often than not recruited from the bourgeoisie, with dictatorial powers and over whom the workers had no control. Efforts to abolish the exploitation, injustices and iniquities of the capitalist mode of production were countered by the introduction of the new "progressive" features of capitalism - iron discipline, blind obedience to rules made by others, "socialist emulation", a euphemism for competition among workers, incentives, piece work, use of a card system to check the individual worker's production and enormous wage discrepancies. Strikes were outlawed and violently suppressed; they later became a capital offence. (43) The Red Army, which had once fought with the people, was now used against them (44), as police, strike-breakers and to discontent. The Army also helped the state disarm the workers. Hordes of bourgeois technicians and petit-bourgeois bureaucrats were welcomed into the workers' state with open arms and given special privileges, (45) while the workers were systematically deprived of their most elementary rights and denied a voice in the control of their own lives. Freedom of speech and the press for all revolutionary groups bar the Bolsheviks were disallowed, (46) many workers were either imprisoned or denied the


THE STALINIST CLASS SOCIETIES ARE ONLY A NATURAL (IF EXCESSIVE) DEVELOPMENT FROM THE ORIGINAL BOLSHEVIK SEIZURE OF TOTALITARIAN STATE POWER IN 1917. MY FAMOUS "VANGUARD PARTY" THEORY OF ORGANIZATION LED TO THE GREATEST SINGLE DEFEAT OF THE CLASSICAL REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT!
THE POWER OF PARTY OVER THE MASSES, RULING IN THE NAME OF THE PROLETARIAT.
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right to work (and hence eat), rigorous laws restricted the worker's freedom to change his job, legal penalites were incurred for unexcused absences and lateness, (47) the trade unions were servants of the state and the soviets were rubber stamps. (48) In a word, workers' democracy was an utter farce in Soviet Russia 1920, the industrial workers were "subjected again to managerial authority, labour discipline, wate incentives, scientific managements - *to the familiar forms of capitalist industrial organization with the same bourgeois managers,* qualified only by the State's holding the title of the property." (49)

True in an economy on the verge of total collapse, production had to be continued and increased. True again, the Bolsheviks abolished private property and the "anarchy of the market", yet they retained the form of organization upon which the capitalist system was based:

> "They wished to change the *economy* and the patterns of ownership, and the distribution of wealth, but not the relation between men at work or the nature of the work itself." (50)

Whatever the new name given to this industrial system, for those who had to work under it, nothing had changed. Their experiences were a replica of those under capitalism, the very things they had sought to abolish by the revolution. The Bolshevik leaders however, refused to believe that exploitation was still exploitation, even if carried out in the name of the workers' state. Trotsky's statement that,

> "Under capitalism, the system of piece work and of grading, the application of the Taylov system, etc, have as their direct object to increase the exploitation of the workers by the squeezing out of surplus value. Under socialist production, piece

UNDER OUR TACTFUL RULE (AS SIMILARLY IN YUGOSLAVIA AND ALGERIA) THE PEOPLE ARE FREE TO MAKE ALL THE DECISIONS THAT — CHANGE NOTHING. THE FACTORY AND FARM COUNCILS ARE ALLOWED TO PARTICIPATE — WITHIN THE STATE-CONTROLLED FRAMEWORK OF ALIENATED LABOR. VIVA SELF-MANAGEMENT!
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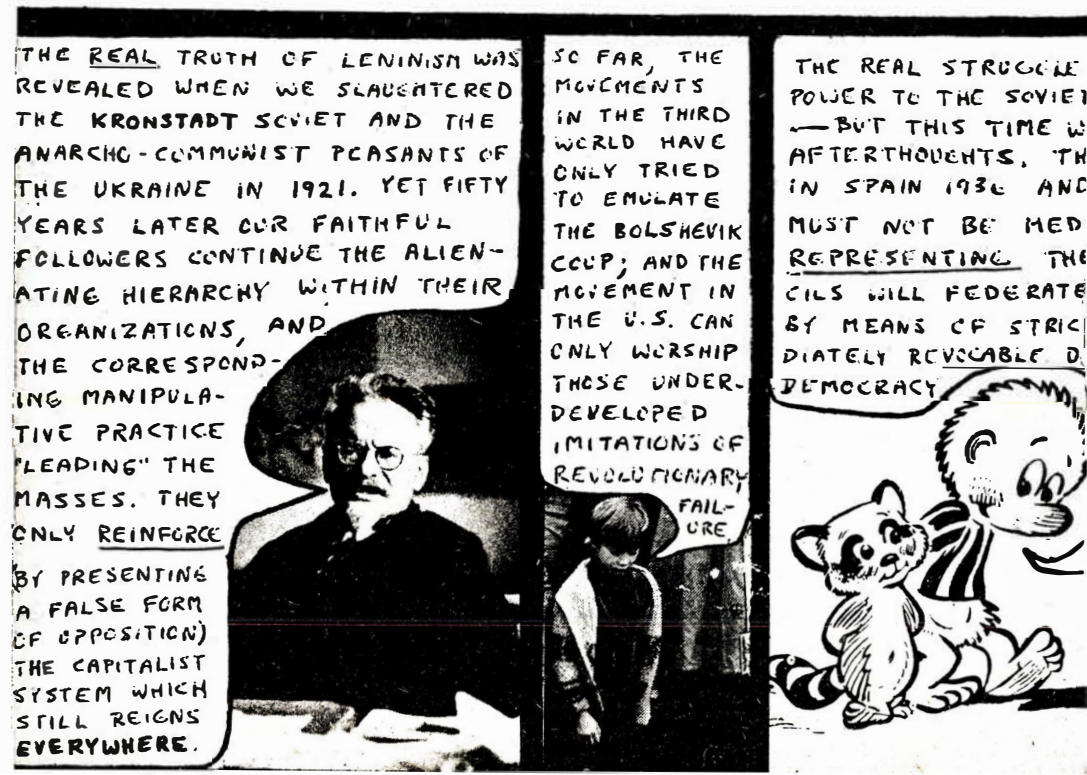
work, bonuses, etc. have as their problem to increase the volume of social product, and consequently to raise the general well-being." (51)

typifies the misconception among the Bolsheviks (especially Lenin and Trotsky) that the same means can be used to reach fundamentally different ends; that it is not the nature and organization of a social structure which determines whether it is good or bad, but rather *which class controls it.* Thus the organization of the capitalist system itself should not be abolished only the capitalist class which control it: similarly with the army - it is not the authoritarian, hierarchical structure and discipline which must be smashed, only its leaders who make it the servant of the bourgeois state. Instead of "smashing the bureaucratic-military machine" (52) of the bourgeois state, the Bolsheviks simply transferred a large part of this machinery into their own hands. (53) This again was a blatant violation of what Marx and Engels had seen the proletarian dictatorship as involving.

Similarly, Lenin believed that the same means which had been used to change one class society for another, could be used to achieve the classless society, i.e. he believed that the Bolshevik Party, *the very incarnation of the leader-led dichotomy which is the basis of a class society,* could carry out the socialist revolution and abolish classes. He failed to see that the vanguard party-masses division, far from leading to a classless society, only provided the foundation for the emergence of a new class society.

> Was it little wonder then that in post-revolutionary Russia by 1920 "The creatures outside looked from pig to man, and from man to pig, and from pig to man again; but really it was impossible to say which was which." (54)

Many had fought with the Bolsheviks to expel the old masters and rebuild Russian society along fundamentally different lines, only to find now that the Communist Party had slipped into the vacancy left by the previous rules. The only hope left seemed to lie in a third revolution, a revolution to be rid of masters, guides and leaders, once and for all. A


THE REAL TRUTH OF LENINISM WAS REVEALED WHEN WE SLAUGHTERED THE KRONSTADT SOVIET AND THE ANARCHO-COMMUNIST PEASANTS OF THE UKRAINE IN 1921. YET FIFTY YEARS LATER OUR FAITHFUL FOLLOWERS CONTINUE THE ALIENATING HIERARCHY WITHIN THEIR ORGANIZATIONS, AND THE CORRESPONDING MANIPULATIVE PRACTICE "LEADING" THE MASSES. THEY ONLY REINFORCE (BY PRESENTING A FALSE FORM OF OPPOSITION) THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM WHICH STILL REIGNS EVERYWHERE.
SO FAR, THE MOVEMENTS IN THE THIRD WORLD HAVE ONLY TRIED TO EMULATE THE BOLSHEVIK COUP; AND THE MOVEMENT IN THE U.S. CAN ONLY WORSHIP THOSE UNDERDEVELOPED IMITATIONS OF REVOLUTIONARY FAILURE
THE REAL STRUGGLE POWER TO THE SOVIET —BUT THIS TIME W AFTERTHOUGHTS. TH IN SPAIN 1936 AND MUST NOT BE MED REPRESENTING THE CILS WILL FEDERATE BY MEANS OF STRIC DIATELY REVOCABLE D DEMOCRACY

revolution whose slogan was "All Power to the People" not "All Power to the Party". Such was the spirit of the Kronstadt uprising.

> "Kronstadt was the first entirely independent attempt of the people to liberate itself from all yokes and achieve the Social Revolution, an attempt made directly, resolutely, and boldly by the working masses themselves without political shephers, without leaders or tutors." (55)

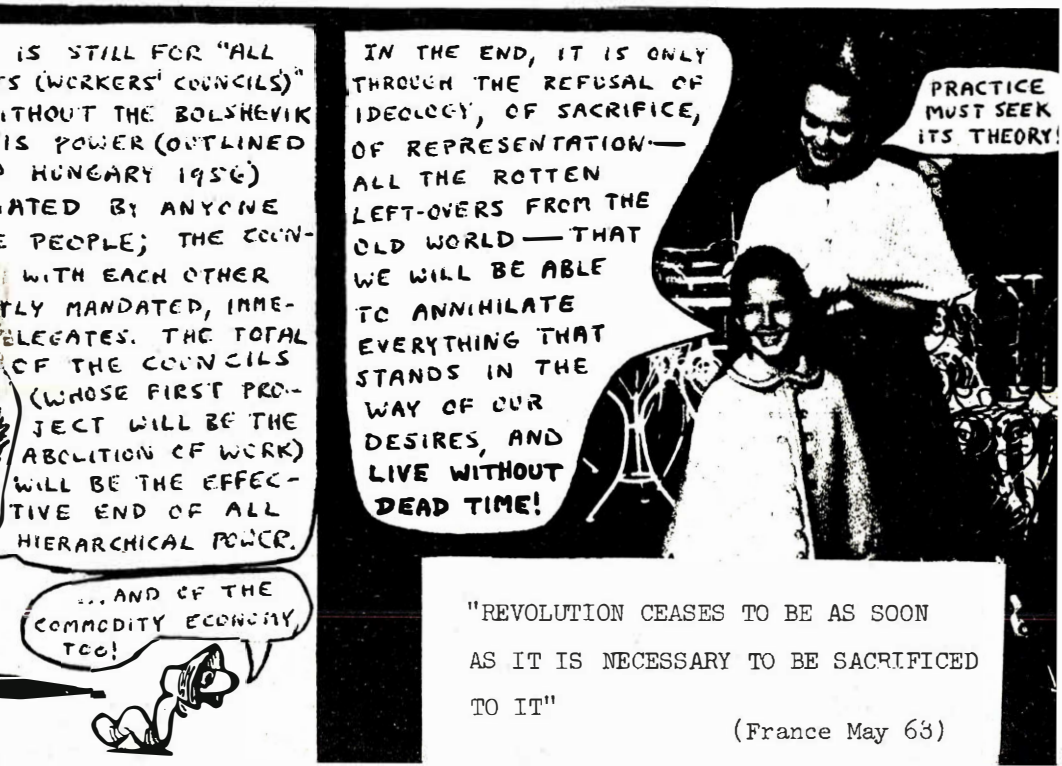
Its suppression by the Bolsheviks sounded the death-knell of the myth of the workers' state as the embodiment of the interests of the working masses. That the Bolsheviks responded in the manner they did only exemplified the degree to which they had become isolated from the demands and aspirations of the masses at large.

> "Our cause is Just. We are for the power of the Soviets and not that of the parties. We are for the free election of the representatives of the working masses. The false Soviets, monopolized and manipulated by the Communist Party, have always been deaf to our needs and requests: the only responses we have received has been the assassin's bullet."

from the IZVESTIA (of the Kronstadt Revolutionary Committee) no. 4, March 6, 1921.

KRONSTADT

Winter 1920–1921 was particularly severe for the Petrograd proletariat, and in February 1921, thousands of workers went out on strike. Nor were their demands purely economic. Many leaflets and proclamations were circulated during this period: some demanded bread and fuel, the elimination of Trotsky's "labour battalions" (organizations of strike-breakers selected from the Red Army) and the use of armed Communist detachments in the factories the revival of free, (i.e. non-political) Soviets and Factory Committees; other called for freedom of speech and Press, the restoration of the Constituent Assembly, an end to cheka terror and the release of anarchists, SR's and other working class prisoners from Communist jails. Several of the most important



factories in Petrograd improvised assemblies of workers and adopted resolutions hostile to the government, demanding a change of regime. (56)

These disturbances were an expression of the disillusionment and discontent of the workers with the growing totalitarianism, (i.e. the monopoly of power exercised by the Party in *every* sphere of life) of the workers' state. The Bolshevik party responded with force and a barrage of lies and slanders.

On February 24, a state of seige was declared in Petrograd by the Committee of Defence, and Zinoviev sent detachments of "Koursanty" (student officers) against the strikers (57). The Petrograd proletariat, the "pride and glory" of the past two revolutions, was now referred to as comprising counter-revolutionary peasant elements "insufficiently steeled in proletarian ideas" (58). The real truth of the matter was that the Petrograd workers had ideas far too "proletarian" for the liking of their new oppressors. As previously mentioned, "all power to the proletariat" meant no power for the party – consequently this had to be avoided at all costs. Because the Bolsheviks equated the interests of the Party with the interests of the revolution, as time passed by and more of the initial ideals and objectives of the revolution were thrown to the wind, it was never the Party that was seen as counter-revolutionary, but the *original revolutionary goals* instead.

In the *Unknown Revolution* Voline agrees that during the Petrograd disturbances there was some anti-revolutionary propaganda disseminated which proposed solutions that "would have thrown the revolution into reverse, instead of trying to remove the obstacles so that it could go forward" (59). He also points out, however, that these elements were "never the strongest, nor the boldest" (60). As will be seen with the Kronstadt revolt, the Petrograd uprising was neither engineered by the Whites, nor organized and payed for by foreign imperialist powers – nor indeed was it an anarchist plot. Both were the spontaneous uprisings of populations with illustrious revolutionary backgrounds – the Petrograd proletariat and the Kronstadt sailors were "the pride and glory of the Revolution". Attempts were not being made to reverse the revolution, but rather to extend it and make it *total* (i.e. libertarian).

It was a tradition of the Revolution that the Kronstadt sailors took a fraternal interest in the affairs of the Petrograd workers. On February 26 a delegation of sailors from Kronstadt arrived in Petrograd. The delegation returned to Kronstadt on February 28, and on that same day, the crew of the battleship "Petropavlosk", having discussed the Petrograd situation, passed a resolution which was subsequently endorsed by all Kronstadt sailors in a General Assembly by a number of groups from the Red Army and by the whole working population of Kronstadt (61). This resolution, comprising fifteen demands, became the political programme for the insurrection (62).

In brief, the demands put forward by the Kronstadt sailors were a reaffirmation of the ideals of October; they revealed the extent of the counter-revolution which had already been issued in by the Party itself. It was not that, almost three and a half years after seizing power, the Bolsheviks were simply unable to realize some of their most basic ideals, but that they had taken *deliberate* measures to ensure that such ideals could not become realities. (Many of these "measures" have been outlined above).

On March 2, a General Assembly of Kronstadt sailors decided to form a Provisional Revolutionary Committee (PRC) to administer the town and fortress. Later that day, under the leadership of the PRC, the inhabitants of Kronstadt occupied strategic points in the town, taking over State establishments, Staff Headquarters, telephone and wireless buildings and finally, the 'Izvestia' print-shop (63). By evening, most forts and Red Guard detachments had rallied to the side of the Kronstadt insurgents.

On March 5 an ultimatum from Trotsky was delivered to the sailors, and on March 7, Tukhachevsky, acting on Trotsky's orders, launched an infantry attack on Kronstadt across the ice. This first assault failed, however, because the Red Army soldiers

sympathized with the Kronstadt rebels. Some Red soldiers refused to march, others surrendered to the insurgents (64). During this first attack, part of the Petrograd proletariat continued to strike in solidarity with the Kronstadt sailors. These strikes continued in the biggest factories in Petrograd – Putilov, Baltisky, Oboukhov, Nievskaia, Manufactura, etc. and some were also beginning in Moscow, Nijni, Novgorod and various other cities (65).

Aircraft bombing of Kronstadt began on March 8; these raids were continued and artillery shelling also began. The Red Army regiments which were to be used in the final assault against Kronstadt had to be completely reorganized. "Groups that had shown any sympathy towards Kronstadt were disarmed and transferred to other units. Some were severely punished by the Revolutionary Tribunal" (66).

This final attack was launched by "reliable" troops under the command of the ex-tsarist officer, Tukhachersky, on March 16, and after fierce, intense fighting, the Kronstadt revolt was finally suppressed on March 18.

Kronstadt fell, and with it the myth of the workers' party and the workers' state. As some ex-Bolsheviks succintly expressed this newly acquired insight:

> "We .... joined the Party believing it to express the wishes of the working masses. In fact the Party has proved itself an executioner of workers and peasants." (67)

Lenin was quite aware that what was at stake with Kronstadt was the Party's monopoly of power. Nor was his leadership only being threatened by the Kronstadt insurgents, for within the Bolshevik Party itself, the Workers' Opposition was beginning to ask some awkward but fundamental questions. This faction questioned both the primacy of the Party and the class nature of the Russian state. They also called for the "syndicalization" of the economy, i.e. the planning and directing of the economy by the trade unions, which were (read "supposed to be") the direct representatives of the working class, and the revival of the Factory Committees. The Workers' Opposition sought to maintain the revolutionary ideals expressed in *The State and Revolution* with regard to the autonomous and democratic involvement of the masses in economic decision-making (68). Lenin simply wanted to forget this pamphlet.

However, while the Workers' Opposition questioned the Party's leadership and called for its power to be moderated, their old loyalties, their refusal to "revolt against all (their) past, against (their) discipline, against (their) comrades in arms" (69) and their retention of certain ideas about the "historical role of the Party" acted as fetters on their attempts to redirect the revolution already in motion. This inability to transcend old organizational loyalties proved to be one of the fatal weaknesses of the oppositional factions which emerged within the Communist Party from time to time.

Lenin reacted to the Workers' Opposition "threat" by banning factions within the Party from that time onwards, yet he crushed the Kronstadt uprising. Why? Because Kronstadt not only questioned the basis of the Party's power, it questioned *the need for the Party itself* (and came up with an emphatic "No" as the answer).

It is indeed ironical that the Kronstadt rebels, demanding workers' democracy (i.e. what Marx and Engels had identified with the dictatorship of the proletariat) were suppressed in the name of the "dictatorship of the proletariat".

> "The Party is obliged to maintain its dictatorship...regardless of temporary vacillations even in the working class...The dictatorship does not base itself at every given moment on the formal principle of a workers' democracy" (70).

Soon after the liquidation of the Kronstadt revolt, Lenin replaced the old system of War Communism with the New Economic Policy (N.E.P.) which reinstated the principle of free trade, i.e. instead of conceding workers' democracy, which was highly compatible with socialism and would have restored both the proletariat and working peasantry to their proper place in the new regime, Lenin granted free trade, something totally incompatible with socialism instead, all the while ignoring a warning he had made himself

years before: "Whoever wants to approach socialism by any other path than that of political democracy, will inevitably arrive at the most absurd and reactionary conclusions." (71). Nor is it difficult to unmask the rationale behind Lenin's granting of free trade instead of workers' democracy. Workers' democracy might have been totally compatible with socialism, but it was anathema to the Party's hegemony of power; the opposite held true for free trade. Consequently, he opted for the second alternative. Lenin sacrificed socialism to save the Party rule.

By the end of 1921, the Bolsheviks had succeeded in both crushing and reversing the libertarian revolution which had been underway in Russia since 1917. The Factory Committees and workers' self-management, the Soviets and workers' self-government, the Kronstadt revolt and the Makhnovtchina (a libertarian worker-peasant movement indigenous to the Ukraine) – each had challenged the power of the new Bolshevik masters and each had been liquidated.

In April 1919 at the Third Regional Congress of Peasants, Workers and Partisans in Gulai–Polya (Ukraine) a reply was drawn up to a telegram sent by Dybenko, the commander of the Bolshevik forces in the Ukraine, who had declared the Makhnovist congress "counter-revolutionary" and its organizers "outlaws" (72). At one point in the draft reply two pertinent questions were asked:

> "Does there exist a law according to which a "revolutionary" has the right to apply the most severe penalties to a revolutionary mass, of which he calls himself the defender, simply because this mass has taken, without waiting for his permission, the good things the revolutionist has promised them: freedom and equality?" (73).

and

> "Whose interest should the revolution defend? Those of the Party or those of the people who set the revolution in motion with their blood?" (74)

The events of 1917–1921 clearly indicate that for the Bolsheviks there was such a "law" – the law of the survival of the Party. As regards the second question, the Bolsheviks opted for the first "interest" – that of the Party – and defended it at the expense of not only the revolutionary masses, but of the revolution itself, so that during this five year period the "dictatorship of the proletariat" was not so much a revolutionary power based on the use of force against the "bourgeoisie" as a counte -revolutionary power based on the use of force against the revolutionary working masses (proletarian and peasant) who had attempted to carry out the libertarian revolution, who had attempted "to take (their) own destinies into (their) own hands, to conduct (their) own lives according to (their) own will, and (their) own conception of the truth" (75).

FOOTNOTES:

1. From a speech delivered by Marx at the Hague Congress of 1872. Cited in an explanatory note in MARX and ENGELS SELECTED CORRESPONDENCE (MESC) pp.165.
2. ibid, MARX to KUGELMANN, April 12, 1871. pp.309.
   This point was continually stressed by Marx and Engels, especially so after the Paris Commune of 1871 which proved so well that "the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made State machinery, and wield it for its own purposes "but that it must create its own forms of social organization.
3. ibid, ENGELS to THEODOR CUNO, January 24, 1872, pp.319
4. ibid, ENGELS to BEBEL, 18–28 March, 1875 pp.337
5. cited in the introduction to *Critique of the Gotha Programme,* K. MARX, pp 17
6. K. J. KENAFICK, *Michael Bakunin and Karl Marx, p.212.*
7. This belief was one of the basic tenets of the First International: "The emancipation of the working class is the work of the working class itself." (Inaugural Declaration of the First International.)

8. Marx and Engels made these revisions quite explicit and public in their Preface to the German Edition (of the Communist Manifesto) of 1872 "...no special stress is laid on the revolutionary measures at the end of Section II. That passage would in many respects, be differently worded today ... this program has in some details become antiquated."

9. K. J. KENAFICK, op. cit. pp.249

10. D. SHUB, *Lenin,* pp.310

11. B. D. WOLFE, *Three Who Made a Revolution,* pp.184
Such was the term used by Lenin while discussing how the proletariat was to acquire a "class consciousness'

12. B. D. WOLFE, op. cit. pp. 273

13. Ibid, pp.292

14. L. TROTSKY, *Terrorism and Communism,* pp.141

15. B. D. WOLFE, op. cit. pp.288

16. D. and G. COHN-BENDIT, *Obsolete Communism: the Left Wing Alternative,* p.215

17. L. TROTSKY, p. cit. pp.109

18. J. STALIN, *Problems of Leninism,* pp.29

19. ibid, pp.32

20. V. I. LENIN, *The State and Revolution* pp.298–299

21. D. SHUB, op. cit. the quotation comes from pp.218, the rest of the details are found pp.217–218

22. During his libertarian period, Lenin even had many of the Russian anarchists fooled as to which ideology he really subscribed to, especially since *The April Theses* and the *State and Revolution* contained an affirmation of certain anarchistic viewpoints. Prior to October, both the Bolsheviks and anarchists were pursuing similar immediate goals – the destruction of the P.G. and the abolition of private property, so that for a time there appeared to be a merging of the two revolutionary currents. However after October their paths rapidly diverged. The attitude of orthodox socialists to Lenin's "deviation" is adequately expressed in the words of I.P. Goldenburg, a veteran Russian Marxist:
"Lenin has now made himself a candidate for one European throne that has been vacant for thirty eyars – the throne of Bakunin! Lenin's new words echo something old – the superannuated truths of primitive anarchism." P. AVRICH, *The Russian Anarchists,* pp.128.

23. I. DEUTSCHER, *Stalin,* P.151

24. ibid pp.151

25. ibid, pp.163. The Kornilov coup was attempted at the beginning of September, 1917.

26. quoted in L. COLLETTI article "Power and Democracy in Socialist Society, pp.20 (My emphasis)

27. V.I. LENIN, op. cit. pp.307

28. This thesis was originally and more fully outlined by MAURICE BRINTON in *The Bolsheviks and Workers' Control 1917–1921.* In the introduction Brinton clearly states his methodological assumption as follows: that "the relations of production (as outlined in essay above, page 12) are the essential foundations in any society. A certain pattern of relations of production is the common denominator of all class societies. This pattern is one in which the producer does not dominate the means of production, but on the contrary is "separated from them" and the products of his own labour. In all class societies the producer is in a position of subordination to those who manage the productive process". pp.vii Brinton's assumption is also the premise of this essay.

29. MESC, ENGELS to CONRAD SCHMIDT, 27th October, 1890, p.482

30. P. AVRICH, op. cit. pp.160

31. ibid, p.141: also see M. BRINTON, op. cit, pp.1

32. ibid, pp.141–142

33. ibid, p.147

34. R. V. DANIELS, *The Conscience of the Revolution: Communist Opposition in Soviet Russia,* p.83

35. D. GUERIN, Anarchism, pp.84

36. P. AVRICH, op. cit. pp.145

37. M. BRINTON, op. cit. pp.12–13

38. ibid, pp.13

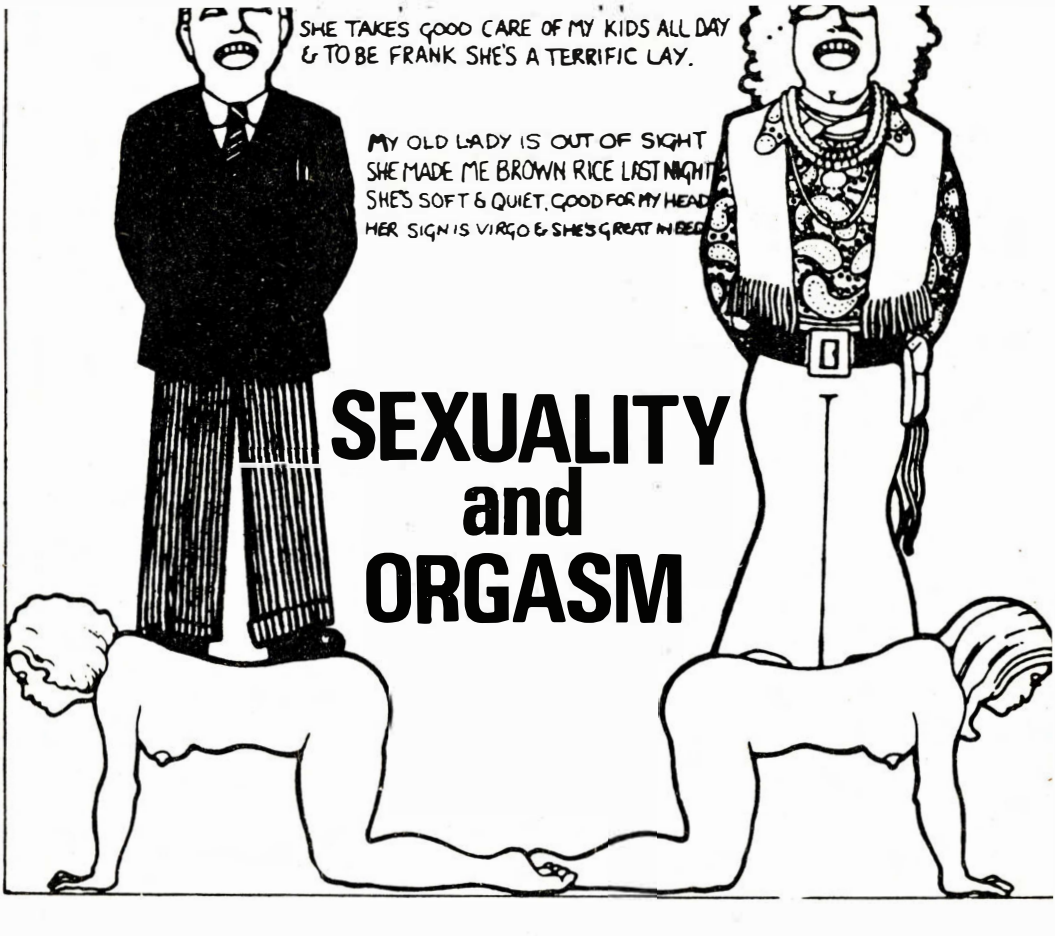
39. ibid, pp.76

40. ibid, pp.22

41. P. AVRICH, op. cit. pp.168

42 D. GUERIN, op. cit. pp.92

43. S. HOOK, *Marx and the Marxists* pp.110. This was under Stalin.
44. M. BRINTON, op. cit. pp.81
45. Some Kronstadt sailors adequately summed up the role of the Red Army when they said:
"They (the Bolsheviks) created the Red Army, which like all armies, had ended by becoming a blind force in the hands of the party in power. Detached from their roots in the workshops and among their fellow workers, the soldiers were pampered, misled by deceptive slogans, subjected to a brutalizing discipline, and deprived of the means of acting in an organized way, so that they could easily be manipulated to do whatever those who are in control of them may desire". VOLINE, *The Unknown Revolution,* pp.29. This statement was vindicated by the performance of the Red Army in the suppression of both the Kronstadt uprising in 1921 and the Makhnovtchina (1918–1921) in the Ukraine.
46. From the very first days of Soviet power, Lenin found it just as necessary to gag socialist opinion as he did Liberal (capitalist) opinion. The S.R.'s managed to keep printing Dyelo Navoda for a while after it had been officially banned; at first copies appearing on the stalls were confiscated, after the vendors were subject to severe penalties, and in some cases, execution. Prison or the grave was the destiny of those who dared make workers' democracy a reality. cf. D. SHUB, op. cit. p.510–311
47. S. HOOK, op. cit. pp.110
48. M. BRINTON, op. cit. p.55
49. ibid, P.65 (My emphasis)
50. P. CARDAN, *From Bolshevism to Bureaucracy,* pp.17
51. L. TROTSKY, op. cit. p.147
52. see footnote 2
53. As early as 1918 Trotsky began to reorganize the Army along pre-revolutionary lines. Marks of authority and ranks were reintroduced; strict discipline had never been jettisoned. M. BRINTON, op. cit. p.37.
Total reconversion to the pre-revolutionary form was consummated by Stalin in 1942, cf. I. DEUTSCHER, *Stalin,* pp.476 for details.
54. G. ORWELL, *Animal Farm,* pp.120
55. VOLINE, op. cit. pp.71
56. VOLINE, op. cit. pp.30
57. I. METT' *The Kronstadt Commune,* passim pp.5–6
58. ibid, pp.5
59. VOLINE, op. cit. p.31
60. ibid, p.31
61. I. METT. op. cit. see footnote pp.6
62. ibid, see pp.6–7 for a list of these 15 demands
63. ibid, pp.12
64. ibid, pp.22
65. ibid, pp.19
66. ibid, pp.23
67. ibid, pp.15
68. see M. BRINTON, op. cit. pp.73–74 for details of the Workers' Opposition programme.
69. DANIELS, R.V. op. cit. pp.80; V. SERGE in his pamphlet *Kronstadt 1921* also noted this tendency among Bolsheviks
"We're bound by Party discipline....Nob Bolshevik deserts is party" pp.4
70. BRINTON, M. op. cit. pp.78
71. WOLFE, B.D. op. cit. pp.333
72. VOLINE, op. cit. pp.118
73. ibid, pp.122
74. ibid, pp.122
75. ibid, pp.93


SHE TAKES GOOD CARE OF MY KIDS ALL DAY & TO BE FRANK SHE'S A TERRIFIC LAY.
MY OLD LADY IS OUT OF SIGHT SHE MADE ME BROWN RICE LAST NIGHT SHE'S SOFT & QUIET. GOOD FOR MY HEAD HER SIGN IS VIRGO & SHE'S GREAT IN BED
SEXUALITY and ORGASM

At the conclusion of the article on Snedden in *Mejane* No. 4, the point was made that the aim of Women's Liberation is not to get women into the repressive and warped roles that men now fill, but to liberate both men and women into qualitatively new and healthier relationships. On the level of political analysis Women's Liberation has thus rejected Betty Friedan's kind of feminism, which sought equality within an essentially unchanged system, and has developed its own critical analysis of capitalism and its institutions. Perhaps, more significantly, Women's Liberation has uncovered and devastatingly analysed the rampant authoritarianism and male chauvinism of left wing movements and in its struggle against them seems to have developed and projected new forms of organization of a more humane, open, and non-authoritarian kind.

This transcendence of traditional feminist aims in politics has to a certain extent been reflected on the level of personal relationships. Women have assented, as best they can, against appalling obstacles, their independence of their male protectors and the feedback from this has been the attempts to establish new, more fulfilling, and non-repressive relationships.

On the precise level of sexual relationships, however, this pattern of searching for equality beyond the status quo seems to break down. Women's Liberation literature – I am thinking specifically of *I*

Accuse and *The Myth of the Vaginal Orgasm* – has exposed the myth of the vaginal orgasm for the pleasure-denying prop to male-supremacist virility-worship that it is, and emphasized women's right and capacity to have and expect as full an orgasmic life as men. This is obviously a necessary step to have taken, but it simply establishes equality within present concepts of sexuality. While I feel very hesitant about this, I would like to suggest that the whole idea of the orgasm and its place and importance in sexuality needs revaluing.

The recent "Family Issue" of *Tharunka* (28/7/71) contained an article which claimed to expound what was called a Tontraic (some form of Eastern) view of sex. The ideology was, as one could predict, basically a nature mythology of woman or man's route to the energies and harmonies of the natural world. It was an improvement on Lawrence, though, because at least it urged the men to become like women, in touch with nature, rather than use her simply as an energy source and jumping-off point.

By the time I finished the article, however, something which I found deeply arresting had emerged through all the Buddhist and drug jargon, and the article's rampant romanticism. This was the suggestion that in Western society sexuality had become a feverish and climax-oriented activity that partook of some of the worst features of Western society itself. I suppose that I have given a tentative notional assent to this idea for some time, but it was only on thinking about this article that I began to realize at all deeply how far our sexual behaviour is penetrated by patterns of social behaviour which we would largely reject in their non-sexual context.

It is striking, for instance, how easy it is to see an orgasm achieved for the other person as a trophy awarded for a good performance. In fact, the whole business of fucking seems to be riddled by the performance ethic. As Lyndall says in her article on the female orgasm in the *Tharunka* sex supplement:

> **It is here (i.e. at the stage in fucking that is supposed to culminate in orgasm) that all the fears, inhibitions, and traumas are likely to rear their ugly heads, and where the pressure to perform satisfactorily is greatest.**

For of course a concept of sex as dominated by the orgasm is very specifically a goal-oriented activity with a high premium on achievement. With an orgasm as goal, there seems to be an intense pressure to evaluate the fuck in very narrow terms of either failure or success so that sexual play in itself is both devalued (seen as the necessary "build-up" to the big moment) and undermined by the fear of a final catastrophic incompetence. This, of course, is all from a male point of view, but it would seem, from the *Tharunka* supplement at least, that there are parallel female traumas.

From one perspective, orgasmic sex has a parallel in the economic world. If one takes orgasmic sex as an escalating intensity of effort to achieve a highly specific goal, the release of accumulated tension, is this not analogous to the attempt in our society to find salvation through possessions? One sets one's sights on a particular object, works very hard to accumulate the capital or whatever to possess it, takes and for a time glories in possession, only to find that as the object is incorporated into one's personal world it loses its speciality, and power to satisfy, becoming at best merely useful. In other words, one has denied oneself a certain pleasurable fullness of living in the expectation that the possession will bring its own lasting and compensatory satisfaction. But though the possession may be in some way necessary to one's life, be pleasant and useful to have around, it certainly cannot become a substitute for that life. One cannot take

such a crude analogy very far, but insofar as it gives a sense of a life dominated by possessions rather than lived through for its own sake, it throws some light on how the orgasm-as-goal can be a barrier to a rich sexuality, a sexuality that is relaxed and exploratory, uncovering and extending the pleasurable resources of one's own body and the body of the other person.

Apart from the tendency of orgasm-as-goal to make out of sex an occasion to perform, and to reduce the exploratory and purely pleasurable dimension of sex, the other feature which it borrows from the society we inhabit is the feverish and often aggressive character that it so frequently shows. How often does the orgasm-hunt appear as a crescendo of rapid mini-assaults on the other person, a violent rushing to climax? With sights set on orgasm, on giving and having one, how easy it is for an element of desperation to enter into the fuck, a tense and frantic battering of one another's bodies, all consciousness rivetted on "getting there", the whole act culminating in exhaustion rather than release. In this context, frustration, resentment, and guilt flourish, and so often inject their bitterness into the relationship.

Given all these factors, then, I think one can say that the bizarre situation often arises in which orgasm, or the determined hunt for it, inhibits the full flowering of a prolonged, intimate, lazy, generalized, tender, sexual contact.

When the *Tharunka* sex supplement became available I turned to the article on "The Myth of the Male Orgasm" hoping to find some corroboration of these reflections. But, while that article fairly sensitively discriminated between ejaculation and orgasm, and analysed the destructive role of performance criteria in sex, it still used orgasm as a criterion of sexuality, and retained essentially a view of orgasm as the necessary, natural, and determining end of sexuality. This was inevitable, I suppose, given the article's fundamental reliance on Reich's definition of orgasm, a definition which cannot be separated from Reich's insistence on orgasm as the key to physical, emotional, and societal wealth, and as the acme of sexual experience. This insistence may be true, of course, but the emphasis on the orgasm *per se* tends to isolate and objectify it, and separate it out from the full field of sexuality. I found much more support in Lyndall's article on female orgasm. The irony of the title "In Search of the big Ohhh", the dwelling on current ignorance about female orgasm, the suggestion that the whole concept, experience, and *importance* of orgasm could change as people became more genuinely liberated, all indicated a discontent with orgasm-oriented sexuality.

An interesting revelation contained in the article was that the problem of female orgasm could not be so easily solved as was suggested in *I Accuse* and *The Myth of the Vaginal Orgasm:*

> **This method (clitoral stimulation), however, was not completely successful since many women found the clitoris far too sensitive to be subjected to such intense pressure, and has raised further doubts as to the exact nature of orgasm.**

For me, the most exciting confirmation of this whole train of thought came in Marcuse's discussion of what he called the "performance principle", in *Eros and Society.* Marcuse claimed, following Freud, that civilization depended on a certain basic amount of libidinal repression; but he went on to argue that bourgeois society had overlaid the basic repression with a surplus repression which reduced sexuality to a manageable quantity which could be easily accommodated within an essentially labour-oriented society. However, not only had the time and energy available for sex been reduced, but under the workings of the performance principle (an extension

of Freud's reality principle) sexuality itself had become a diminished and withered thing, characterized by "genital tyranny" or the localization of sexual feelings in the genitals and the desexualization of the rest of the body. Thus Marcuse valued homosexuality and other "perversions" as an attempt to break this tyranny, and looked to a vision of sexuality in a non-repressive society as a total bodily sensitiveness, accompanied by a vastly increased capacity to find erotic release in people, objects and even work.

To a certain extent this is obviously a utopian projection, though it has immediate implications. In the original *Tharunka* article the therapeutic alternative to "Western" sex was for the couple to fuck sitting up, with the woman sitting on the man's legs inhibiting his movement, the man and the woman with their arms around one another, not struggling to do anything or get anywhere, but simply linked in a gentle and passive embrace – if there was to be any movement it would be the woman who controlled it. I suppose "fuck" is the wrong word here, for it probably has irrevocable connotations of vigorous action to a climax, whereas this alternate sexual activity is conceived of as essentially quiescent and motionless, lasting perhaps for hours.

Obviously this is too prescriptive, and too closely related to a particular religious discipline, but it does have an attractive suggestion of gentleness and quiet. My general inclination, following the line of argument that I have been putting, would be to suggest that the couple simply concentrate on exploring and giving pleasure to one another's bodies. If and when the particular tension that cries out for orgasm should arise, then clearly enough it should have that release, but it seems to me restrictive to see that as the aim or the conclusion of the relationship. Helping each other to masturbate, in other words, is good fun, but need only be a small part of a sexual relationship. And, as Lyndall's article implies, until our bodies are invested with a richer sexuality, many women and men may find orgasm a fleeting, mysterious, and unknown quantity.

[At this stage I would like to anticipate some possible criticisms. First, I hope it is clear that I do not wish to condemn women to perpetually congested pelvises and men to a perpetual aching tumescence. My point is not that we shouldn't have orgasms but that they shouldn't dominate our sexuality (at present anyhow). Second, I have tended to ignore good orgasms. All I can say is that I have been arguing a case which I think is not all that common, and hence I needed to place a fairly heavy emphasis on the bad effects of orgasm orientation.

It seems to me that to take this attitude to sexuality involves one far less in an objectifying approach to the other person than does orgasm-oriented sex. There is a temptation in the latter to make the other person a sexual mechanism to be triggered off, and in the male case, as the *Tharunka* supplement shows, this easily becomes part of a virility ideology. I think the alternative kind of sexuality can probably only take place, or can only reach its richest fulfilment within a relationship that is more or less devoted and free of hostility – a relationship, in other words, where one is not seeking a relatively immediate sexual release, but seeking with care to understand one's own and the other person's body and bring them to as full a sensual awareness as possible.

COLIN GRAY

The ANARCHISM of MICHAEL BAKUNIN

Bakunin is best known as Marx's great adversary. That the two contended for leadership in the revolutionary movement of their time is true, but in the long run it is more important that as rivals they stood for opposed conceptions of society and revolt. Together with Proudhon, an earlier target for Marx, Bakunin must be given the credit for taking anarchism beyond mere philosophical speculation and critique, and for making it a force in human affairs. Anarchism has remained a force despite ups and downs; indeed, anarchism has been lost from view where it seemed strongest, as in Spain in the 1930s, the Ukraine in the 1920s and France in the early years of the century, only to reappear where it was not expected, as in France and the United States in the 1960s. Anarchism's staying power is seen to be the more remarkable when it is borne in mind that no international organization, be it Church or Party, sustains the doctrine. There is no machinery to enforce conformity, or to hold out rewards. These considerations compel the view that the appeal of anarchism is permanent, that it answers to certain conditions of society or to certain needs of the spirit or both.

The Italian anarchist Luigi Fabbri has maintained that there are two inseparable aspects to anarchist thought. One is continual revolt against coercion, the permanent encouragement of tendencies to liberty (Fabbri says also that anarchism is the sum of such tendencies). The other is social reorganization, the building of a society in which men will no longer be coerced or exploited. It is this two-sidedness that gives mainstream anarchism its character: the insistence upon freedom here and now, and the wish to expand future freedom to the limit. Bakunin's remark, that on the day after the revolution it would be necessary to hang from the lamp posts all those who showed tendencies to leadership, may be taken as a confused expression of this character.

To stress, as I have done, that anarchism is freedom asserting, naturally brings up the question of Bakunin's authoritarianism, but I propose to set that aside and to give an account of what is more purely anarchist in his thought. Bakunin's authoritarian leanings are well established, but if they were all, he would be of no interest today. The lasting value of his thought is to be found in its assertion of freedom. Similarly, the question of affinities between anarchist and Marxist thought will here be ignored. Their common or complementary features have been recognized by minority writers, e.g. Guy Aldred, whose anti-parliamentary socialism was a synthesis of Proudhon, Marx and Bakunin (and Christ too), and more recently Daniel Guerin and A. J. Baker.

Bakunin was anarchist for part only of his life. As a youth he was conservative through and through - and this in regard to Czarism, a byword for autocratic repression. He did not embrace the freethinking and liberal views of his father, who had served as a diplomat in Western Europe and had, like some other Russian aristocrats, come under the influence of the eighteenth century enlightenment. Bakunin became revolutionary, first, from his study of Hegel and his disciples, such as Feuerbach, and second, from his infection with the revolutionary optimism that pervaded Europe in the 1840s and came to a head in the abortive revolts of 1848-9. Bakunin had by that time made his mark as a rebel, but he was yet to become anarchist. His views were compounded of nihilism, nationalism and pan-Slavism. During this period Bakunin broke with his early conservatism and manifested the spirit of revolt to which his later anarchism gave theoretical expression. Apart from his own activity in uprisings, he was always ready to encourage the rebelliousness of others. This is brought out in an anecdote related by his biographer E.H. Carr. Bakunin was driving from Paris to Prague when he noticed German peasants demonstrating outside a baron's castle. Stopping the coach, Bakunin alighted, instructed the peasants in what to do, and resumed his journey, the castle burning behind him.

As an avowed anarchist Bakunin was in principle opposed to all forms of authority, and his impetuous attack upon them is arguably the outstanding part of his thought. He distinguishes, however, between laws of nature and demands of authority. It is only the latter to which he is hostile. People will live freely when they are in harmony with natural

laws and refuse authoritarian demands. Bakunin allows that the laws of nature include laws of society, and it might be put to him: What if the exercise of authority is natural law? There seems no clear answer in Bakunin's available writings. That authority used to be in accord with natural law is admitted - or so it seems - when he remarks that God and the State were once necessary. These two institutions have been essential to the progress of man from a condition of animality to a condition of humanity. Man, the argument implies, has been created historically through tyranny and illusion; this process of creation could not, one gathers, have been effected in any other way. The evolutionary perspective was, of course, common. The difficulty for anyone who, like Bakunin, accepts evolution and urges revolution is that it is by no means evident that tyranny and illusion have reached their end in creating humanity. If that be so, then those who rebel against God and the State are rebels against necessity. I doubt that there is a resolution of this problem in Bakunin's writings, or even that his treatment of it is consistent.

In one passage Bakunin suggests that human evolution has been stimulated by two capacities that are found to a larger degree in man than in other animals, namely the power of thought and the urge to rebel. The part played by the latter could well be accorded more attention than it has received from students of anthropology and psychology: myths of disobedience, such as that of Adam and Eve, would then appear in a new light.

If we took seriously Bakunin's views on the historical necessity of tyranny and illusion *and* his views on the vital importance of rebellious urges, we might be inclined to accept the point made later by Kropotkin, that throughout history two traditions have been in conflict, the libertarian and the authoritarian. Kropotkin held that their conflict would be settled entirely in favour of the former, but his optimism had been criticized by, among others, Sydney libertarians, who accept his theory of the past but reject his hopes for the future, and have accordingly formulated the doctrine of permanent protest, i.e. the first of Fabbri's two "inseparable" aspects of anarchism. This entails abandoning the second.

Setting aside these questions, and returning to Bakunin's attack on authority, we find that he is particularly to the point on religion, science and government. His criticism, like that of Stirner and Nietzche, is impressive for its vigour. Thus he takes anti-theism and anti-Statism about as far as they could be taken; it is hard to imagine Bakunin ever being surpassed. I will take first his attack on God.

The history of the left is bound up with atheism and anti-clericalism, but left-wing publicists have been known to tread softly on this ground. There are two common justifications. The first is that religion consoles men for wordly ills, that men project their longings into another world because of their misery in this. It is argued that when this world has been reorganised, religion will die, because men will no longer feel any need for heavenly gratification. The pressing task, then, is to concentrate on social reform or revolution. The other justification is tactical. It is that as many workers are religious and as the left needs workers' support, it would be damaging to attack religion, for by so doing prospective supporters would be lost.

Bakunin was not insensible to these considerations. But he regarded religion as giving authority an idealized form by which support was lent to wordly forms. To attack religion is needful if men are to be liberated. Now it shows the power of Bakunin's anti-authoritarianism that his stand against religion did not depend on his atheism. He denied the existence of God, but even had God existed Bakunin would have been his enemy. Bakunin expresses his position in the famous aphorism in which he reverses Voltaire's dictum that "If God did not exist, it would be necessary to invent him." Bakunin declared that "If God existed, it would be necessary to abolish him." We are worlds removed from the reverent or regretful agnostic. In another utterance Bakunin addresses himself to Mazzini: "You taunt us with disbelieving in God. We charge you with believing in him." Later in his pamphlet against Mazzini, Bakunin enlarges on the relation

between religious and other forms of authority. "Whom do we find under God's banner?" he asks. The answer is given floridly:

"Emperors, kings, the official and the officious world; our lords and our nobles; all the privileged persons of Europe whose names are recorded in the *Almana de Gotha*; all the guinea pigs of the industrial, commercial and banking world; the patented professors of our universities; the civil service servants; the low and high police officers; the gendarmes; the goalers; the headsmen or hangmen, not forgetting the priests, who are now the black police enslaving our souls to the State; the glorious generals, defenders of the public order; and lastly, the writers of the reptile Press.

"This is God's army!"

Bakunin's attack on religion, his wish to overthrow religious idols as part of the work of liberation, may be taken as exemplifying his view that "The urge to destruction is a creative urge." But although anti-theism was important to Bakunin, it is especially for his attack on the State that he is remembered. If God is authority's heavenly peak, the State is authority's earthly peak.

Bakunin regards the State as the most oppressive institution, oppressive both in its own operations and in its sanctioning of other forms of authority. Here he keeps company with most but not all anarchists, for some would agree with Stirner that popular moralism is even more to be feared. Bakunin accordingly calls for abolition of the State and diverges from those who only want to reform it or to capture it in order to carry through a revolutionary programme. Bakunin correctly rejects both views, for compromise with insitution can only perpetuate the dichotomy of rulers and ruled that he sees as the worst feature of society. In particular, he shows prophetic forces in his attacks on the Marxian doctrines of proletarian dictatorship and scientific socialism.

The State, Bakunin maintains, connotes domination and exploitation. If the proletariat is to form a dictatorship, to whom will the proletariat dictate? Will proletarians dictate to peasants? Or will Germans, being on a higher level of culture, dictate to Slavs? But it is confused to speak of a workers' State or a people's State. Only a few would hold power. "Thus, from whatever angle we approach the problem, we arrive the same sorry result: the rule of great masses of people by a small privileged minority. But, the Marxists say, this minority will consist of workers. Yes, indeed, of *ex-workers,* who, once they become rulers or representatives of the people, cease to be workers and begin to look down upon the toiling people. From that time on they represent not the people but themselves..."

As for the claim that socialism is scientific, all that that means is that the rulers will use science, as their predecessors used religion, to elevate themselves in the eyes of their mystified subjects. The lack of science of the masses will justify their exclusion from power and be an excuse for reducing them to a herd. The political reality will be "despotic rule ... by a new, numerically small aristocracy of genuine or sham scientists." The shams will doubtless include the professors of dialectical materialism.

Here Bakunin is recognizing the social role of expertise, its force as superstition over and above any force as technique. Elsewhere he is penetrating in his attack on suggestions that political authority be granted to science or scientists, a course to which he makes several objections. One objection is that were society to be legislated for according to the latest word of science humanity would lie on a Procrustean bed, because there is always more to life than science knows. A second objection is that it would be superstitious to obey others merely because they are scientists and without any personal grasp of the merits of the proposals originating from them. A third objection is that to vest power in anyone, no matter how illustrious he may be in science, leads to his corruption, for he naturally comes to be occupied with the survival of his power, not with criticism and truth seeking. If superior knowledge was the reason for giving power to scientists, they

would have a vested interest in the stupidity of those they ruled, for it is this stupidity that would alone justify the authority of the scientifically informed.

While acknowledging the force of Bakunin's criticism, one must recognize that he took an external, not an internal, view of science. Experimental science requires the scientist to control and manipulate his material. One might therefore take Bakunin's criticism further and suggest that in a scientifically governed society, i.e. one in which society itself was the material of experiment, freedom would be outlawed. The control and manipulation of variables that are essential to experiment require the denial of freedom to the subject-matter, which in this case would be society. Thus whereas it is hard to see how Bakunin's attacks on God and the State could be taken further, there is scope for extending his criticism of science by insisting on the opposed characters of anarchism and experimental science, the one freedom asserting, the other freedom denying.

Thus far I have looked at the first aspect of anarchism as it is found in Bakunin's writings. Turning now to the second aspect, we find that Bakunin, like most later anarchists, preferred not to describe in any great detail what a reorganized society would be like, even though he believed anarchy to be possible as a total social condition. He was averse to blueprints for the future, regarding them as an imposition on the generations to come, and it is this that sets him apart from the classical utopians. But we do find in Bakunin a sketch of what he would envisage as a form of society that could provide for essential tasks, such as producing and distributing necessary goods, without restoring the dichotomy of rulers and ruled. Bakunin's suggestions in this direction may be taken as an attempt to show an alternative both to the centralized societies of his day and to the centralized societies planned by many nineteenth century revolutionaries, e.g. the programme of the Communist Manifesto.

Bakunin conceived of ownership of the means of production by local communes, which would conduct their own affairs, e.g. industrial and agricultural production, housing and education, and in which only those who contributed to the common work would be *entitled* to share. Elected committees might be needed to administer communal activities, but their members would be subject to recall. Bakunin hoped by the device of revocable mandates to overcome what he saw to be the usual result of representative democracy, namely the independence gained by representatives at the expense of the public. Communes would federate in order to carry out those activities that required more than local cooperation; delegates to federal councils would be subject to recall and would be empowered only to put the views of those who had sent them.

Bakunin's vision, then, was of a world of free communes freely allied, or, as the anarchist slogan has it, society would be organized up from the bottom, not down from the top. His suggestions as to a future social order may seem less convincing than his attacks on authority, because the force of the latter can be immediately recognized, whereas the former remain conjectural despite the interest of the Spanish experience in the 1930s and the American communes today. It is true that some primitive and peasant societies are organized in a manner that bears comparison with Bakunin's vision (and indeed Bakunin was undoubtedly affected in his theories of society, as were Kropotkin and Tolstoy, by knowledge of Russian peasant villages, just as supporters of the modern commune movement hope to draw selectively on the life styles of primitive peoples), but they are not entirely free of authoritarian features, as may be seen more particularly in the coercive weight of tradition. A society could conceivable substitute federation, decentralization and revocable mandates for the dichotomy of rulers and ruled, and yet exhibit oppressive tendencies in the shape of the popular moralism feared by Stirner. The fact that themeans of life were in the hands of the commune administration would expose the refractory individual to domination greater than that experienced in capitalist democracies where housing, sustenance, employment, etc. are usually not controlled by the same organ, and this would be so even if the administration was genuinely a vehicle of

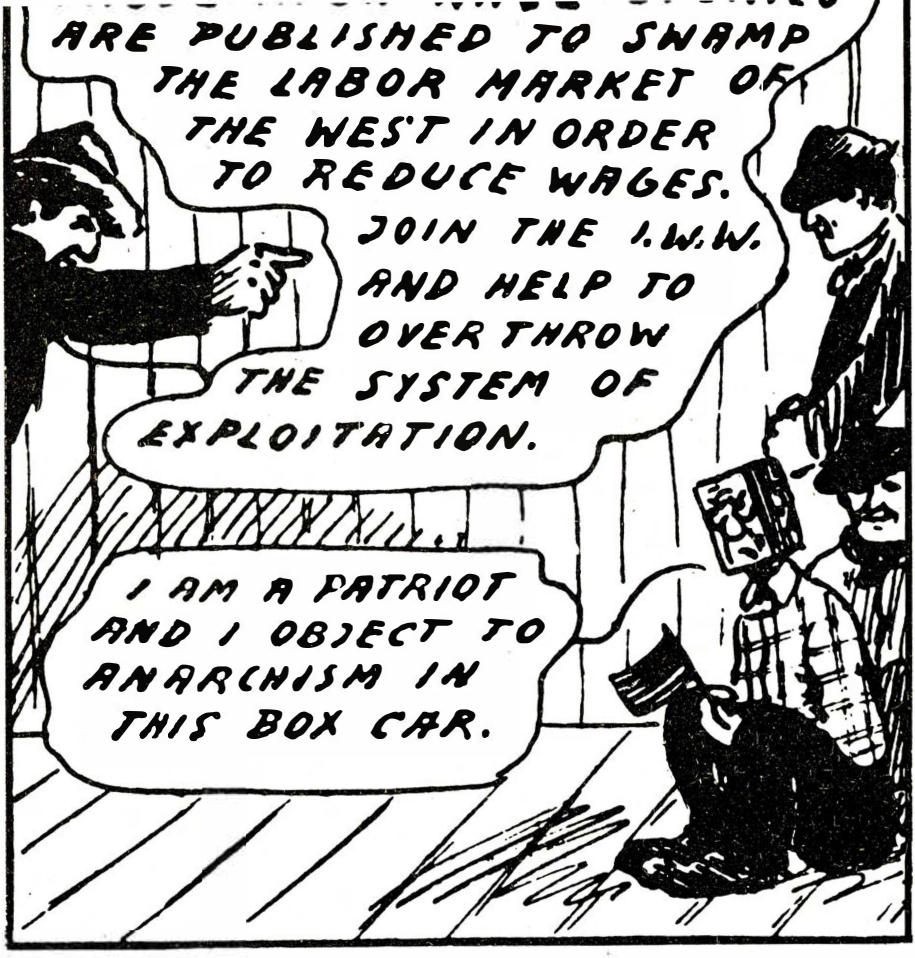
the wishes of the majority. Bakunin does seem to have accepted a doctrine of the human essence according to which historically created man fulfils himself harmoniously by cooperation with his fellows; this essentialism enables its adherents to put aside the objections raised by those who doubt the soundness of visions of total social freedom.

Bakunin has his orthodox followers to this day. In addition, two other schools of anarchist thought are much indebted to him, even though they have revised his social advocacy. The anarcho-communists of the type of Kropotkin have in reaction against commune "authoritarianism" declared themselves in favour of free access to the means of life by all who desire them, regardless of whether the takers have contributed to production. It is assumed that in a proper order of society most or all men will want to work, for work will be a discharge of natural energies. The anarcho-communists, then, share Bakunin's totalism and essentialism. The anarcho-syndicalists share Bakunin's tacit doubt as to the desire to work, but diverge from him in making a place of production the unit of future society. While it is true that a common spirit may be stimulated by sharing in the same tasks, this conception seems inferior to Bakunin's advocacy of the locality as the unit of society, if only because anarcho-syndicalism ignores those who, not being engaged in factories, mines etc., lack the power afforded by the strike weapon.

In contrast to those varieties of anarchism that follow Bakunin in accepting the possibility of total social transformation, must be set individualism and Sydney libertarianism, both of which separate what Fabbri regarded as inseparable by retaining his first aspect while rejecting his second. Apart from Stirner, Pareto is the nineteenth century writer closest to their point ov view, for his question, *With what form of oppression do you propose to replace the existing form?*, is an epitome of their social scepticism. Indeed, the outstanding question posed by the nineteenth century is not whether Bakunin was right as against Marx, but whether Stirner and Pareto were right as against Marx and Bakunin, and it cannot yet be said that the twentieth century supplied the answer.

I am a convinced supporter of *economic and social equality*, because I know that, outside that equality, freedom, justice, human dignity, morality, and the well-being of individuals, just as much as the prosperity of nations, will never be anything but lies. But, supporter though I may be of freedom, this first condition of humanity, I think that equality must be established in the world by the spontaneous organisation of work and of the collective ownership of producers' associations, freely organised and federated in the communes, and by the equally spontaneous federation of these communes, but not by the overriding and enslaving activity of the State.

MICHAEL BAKUNIN


ARE PUBLISHED TO SNAMP THE LABOR MARKET OF THE WEST IN ORDER TO REDUCE WAGES.
JOIN THE I.W.W. AND HELP TO OVERTHROW THE SYSTEM OF EXPLOITATION.
I AM A PATRIOT AND I OBJECT TO ANARCHISM IN THIS BOX CAR.

THE I.W.W. IN AMERICA

PART III EPILOGUE

By D. Clark

In the United States the First World War affected the course of repression in several ways. A strike could now be described as a seditious interference with war production. Secondly, the I.W.W.'s (Industrial Workers of the World) most militant and dramatic surge in the lumber, mining, and agricultural centres of the West occurred during the summer of 1917. Finally, an atmosphere of war hysteria coloured all decisions from the local to the national level. Unfortunately then, the apparent necessity and agitation for the repression of labour radicals coincided with their increasing demands for concessions.

The drive to suppress radicals, with the entry into the war of the U.S., developed two additional phases: use of federal troops under the wartime emergency, and judicial prosecutions by the federal government, also under the cover of war.

As early as 1914, the I.W.W. had declared itself officially opposed to the "Great War" in a resolution which read: "We as members of the industrial army refuse to fight for any purpose except the realization of industrial freedom". The concept of the "One Big Union" opposing all political movements, the I.W.W. felt, would eliminate national boundaries and establish an international relationship between all races engaged in industry. The belief in the common interests of workers in all countries precluded killing workers of other countries. The only war the I.W.W. believed in was a war above the bickerings of capitalist war-lords, this was the class war.

Ralph Chaplin in his autobiography reports the difficulty the I.W.W. had in formulating its policy towards conscription. It knew if it advised members to register it would incur their wrath, while on the other hand an official statement against the draft would mean its immediate suppression. When at a meeting a member suggested this former result, Frank Little replied: "They'll run us out of business anyway. Either we're for this capitalist slaughterpest or we're against it. I'm ready to face a firing squad rather than compromise".

The I.W.W. compromised and advised its members to mark their registration papers as, "I.W.W. opposed to war". The socialist Party in 1917 also proclaimed its "unalterable opposition" to the United States entering into the war and in June, 1917, a group of 136 I.W.W.'s and Socialists refused to register as required by law. They surrendered themselves and were all given prison sentences. The I.W.W. was never to hold a strike merely to obstruct the war effort, but the Press made out that every strike of the I.W.W. was to aid Germany. It is important to examine some of the ludicrous statements made about the I.W.W. by the Press.

Of the Press' treatment of the I.W.W., one writer has remarked; "That it gave an accurate or impartial picture of the "wobblies" is to be seriously doubted". There were several main "hysteria lines" which the Press took about the I.W.W. The first made the I.W.W. to appear as a completely lawless and destructive group. An example of this was a statement which appeared in a San Francisco newspaper; "They have resorted to the torch, the knife, and the pistol". The second approach to raising public hysteria was to make the I.W.W. appear to be acting as German agents, a typical headline reading; "Kaiser's coin pays for I.W.W. sabotage". The argument was that by giving "aid and comfort" to the enemy, one was committing a dire, treasonous act. The I.W.W.'s opposition to the war was misconstrued as "aid and comfort" to the enemy. One magazine even went as far as announcing that; "...suspicions of I.W.W.'s conspiring with German agents shall be verified with confirmation as strong as proofs of Holy Writ, before these lines are printed". Later issues of the magazine made no mention of any confirmation of the report, neither was there one ever made.

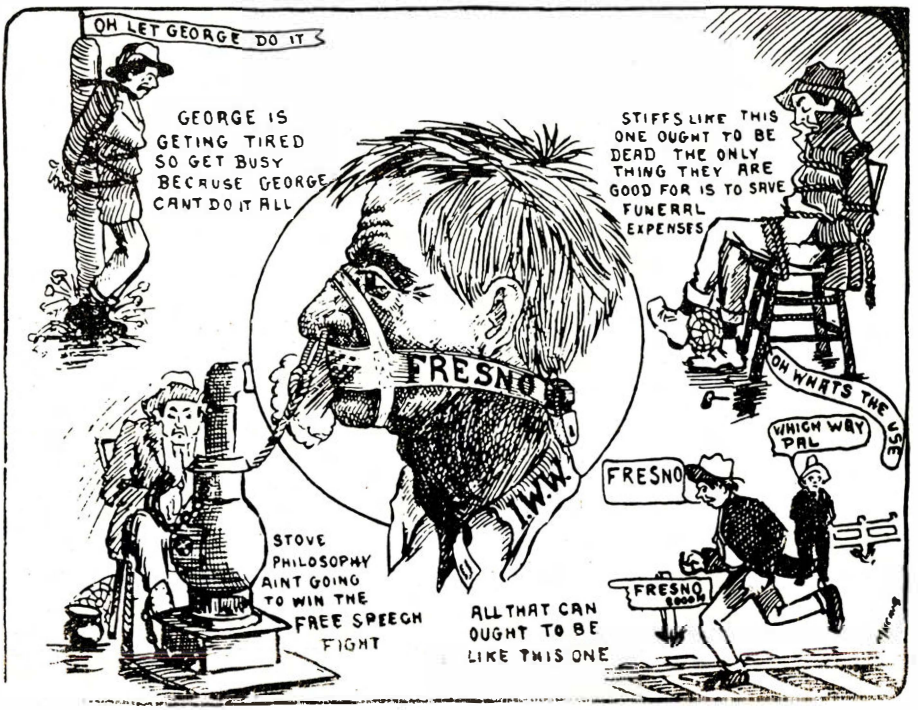
Another "line" was that mere membership of the I.W.W. was disloyal. When the war hysteria died down, the I.W.W.'s were no longer seen as German agents, but Bolsheviki, thus illustrating that the I.W.W. could be conveniently labelled as supporting the most distateful groups to the American public, without the slightest evidence needed to support the accusations. The most effective of these "lines" against the I.W.W., was that any interference with industry or calling a strike during wartime was a disloyal act. Before elaborating on this final example, one must attempt to understand the Press' lies and slander against the I.W.W. It appears that their actions in slandering the I.W.W., were not for purely patriotic reasons.

A Texan Congressman in 1917 declared that powerful financial interests had bought out the editorial policy of America's leading newspapers to control public opinion, so that the U.S. would enter the war and thus save the loans made by these interests to the

allied governments. Certainly by 1917, the entire press was virtually controlled by Morgan and Lord Northcliffe, except for the Hearst chain. Accepting the fact that America intervened in the "Great War" for other reasons besides purely financial ones, the fact remains that the most vicious assaults on the I.W.W. were made by newspapers controlled by owners of mines in which the I.W.W. had begun strikes. Dowell concludes that, "... a more unreal picture of the I.W.W. could scarcely have been presented had such a policy been deliberately and maliciously employed. In many cases it appears that such a policy was deliberately and maliciously employed.

It was the strikes during the war period that were to lead to the greatest opposition against the I.W.W. Ironically, the I.W.W. chose 1917 for its strongest campaigns to organize the lumber workers and the miners. As both timber and minerals, especially copper, were much needed for the war effort, any halt to their production, whether justified or not, was seen as "aiding the enemy". The increased production in timber and minerals and the strong demand for them, enabled the owners of these resources to reap often huge profits from lucrative government contracts. While profits were rising, so was the cost of living, and workers in these industries found their wages were failing to keep pace with rising costs.

The 1917 lumber workers' strike was to see the government take unprecedented action against the I.W.W. Strikes began in April in the north-west areas of the continent, organised by the I.W.W. Other unions such as the Shingle Weavers' and the Timber Workers', joined with the I.W.W. in demanding at least $3 per eight hour day, better conditions and union recognition. By August, it was estimated that no more than 15% of all mills on the West Coast were operating. As the strike progressed, the eight hour day became the main issue and as supplies of timber were being reduced to the United States Army, the Secretary of War urged the employers to grant the eight-hour day. The


OH LET GEORGE DO IT
GEORGE IS GETING TIRED SO GET BUSY BECAUSE GEORGE CANT DO IT ALL
STIFFS LIKE THIS ONE OUGHT TO BE DEAD THE ONLY THING THEY ARE GOOD FOR IS TO SAVE FUNERAL EXPENSES
FRESNO
I.W.W.
OH WHATS THE USE
WHICH WAY PAL
FRESNO
FRESNO
STOVE PHILOSOPHY AINT GOING TO WIN THE FREE SPEECH FIGHT
ALL THAT CAN OUGHT TO BE LIKE THIS ONE

employers refused to do this as they knew the financial limitations of the I.W.W. and by September it became obvious that the strike was breaking.

The I.W.W. then transferred the strike to one "on the job", as most of the strikers desired to return to work to solve their financial difficulties. Lumber workers were urged to only work for an equivalent of eight hours a day, or to stop work after eight hours of work. Besides this, a "conscious withdrawal of efficiency" curtailed production, sometimes to less than one-fourth of normal. The I.W.W. was no longer advocating sabotage, owing to the "pressures" of the war and it argued that as the workers were going to take over the means of production, sabotage of machinery was only hurting their future interests. The American Federation of Labor had locals in the region, but their membership was smaller than that of the I.W.W. and their influence much weaker. Because of the I.W.W.'s militancy, many Federation members became I.W.W.'s.

The most important demand for timber from this region came from the aircraft industry. This industry demanded, primarily spruce, in large quantities. To produce the desired quantity, the whole structure of the lumber industry would have to be changed. According to Hyman, this was one of the main reasons why the United States Army decided to intervene in the lumber industry of the North-West. However the influence of the I.W.W. in awakening the lumber workers to their conditon and organising many strikes of these workers, was the greatest thorn in the side of the lumber interests. The employers had refused a government directive to concede to the workers' demands which, if the employers had carried out, would have reduced greatly the labour unrest in the industry. It must not be under-emphasised, however, that the government saw the I.W.W. as a traitorous organisation, because it urged strikes in wartime. In refusing to make the employers simply concede to the demands of the I.W.W. for an eight-hour day, the government was supporting the employers. The hysteria about the I.W.W. at this time was at its peak and the Federal government felt annoyed that it couldn't immediately stamp out the organisation. The numerous strikes were seen as the forerunners of a social revolution by some observers who called on the government to act swiftly. A member of the Council of National Defence, in urging government intervention in the industry declared; "...that unless the people in Washington stop pussyfooting we will not only not get lumber but we will get a blow-up that will be bloody and terrible".

From the evidence available it appears that the I.W.W. hysteria was used as a shield and excuse to enable government intervention. The intransigence of the employers in refusing to grant the eight hour day and the great difficulties there would be in changing the structure of the industry to enable sufficient spruce production, coupled with the need to crush the I.W.W. led to the formation of the Loyal Legion of Loggers and Lumbermen under the control of a Colonel Disque. One writer has seen the prime reason for its formation as to use the army as a strike-breaking force on the side of the employers. He argues that its intervention came at the height of the strike, just when the "wobblies" seemed to be winning. Hyman, however, takes the broader view of its formation as outlined above. Whether the arguments he uses are merely to hide, perhaps, the real reason for the 4 L's formation, that of breaking the strike and eliminating the I.W.W.'s influence in the region, appears unlikely. The Legion's intervention was, however, unusual and unconstitutional, as army troops could only be used at the request of state authorities to suppress insurrections. The motives behind the Legion's formation are indeed complex and disputable.

By July, 1918, Disque had under his control, 100,000 civilians, as well as 25,000 uniformed soldiers. All members of the Legion had to sign a loyalty pledge to "...stamp out any acts of hostility against the U.S. Government" and, "to support and defend this country against enemies both foreign and domestic". This seems to add evidence to the argument that the Legion was primarily formed to crush the I.W.W. Charges were often made that the Legion coerced workers into joining it. It was considered that a man who

wouldn't sign the Legion's loyalty pledge and thus become a member was a traitor to his country. Mere membership of the I.W.W. was not a bar to Legion membership, but organising for the I.W.W. was declared illegal. The Legion's official attitude towards unions was ambivalent. It described itself, not as a labour union, but as a "purely patriotic Association of both operators and operatives". Disque initially had the support of Gompers, as the latter hoped the weakening of the I.W.W. would enable the Federation to move in and take over from the I.W.W. But Disque, influenced by the lumber operators, did not want any union filling the I.W.W.'s place, and Gomper's aims were defeated. Initially, it was hoped to replace the I.W.W. with Federation locals, but the opposition of the employers was too strong as they were against any form of unionism. Although the first Legion local had been established in November, 1917, agitation for the eight-hour day was still strong in the initial months of 1918. Disque realised that the granting of the eight-hour day was the only way to stop the unrest. This was done on the first of March, 1918 and the arguments of the employers that the industry would collapse if this was done, soon appeared to have been fatuous.

The eight-hour day and improved working conditions brought the lumber worker into the twentieth century at last. As Carlton Parker had suggested since 1914, the I.W.W. could be weakened considerably by improving the working conditions and the general standing of its typical recruit. The Legion enabled the migratory for the first time, to sleep in a clean, roomy bunkhouse, to eat decent meals and to work for a sensible period of time. Thousands of "wobblies" became "scissor-bills" or in other words, faithful employees. The rabid patriotism stressed in the Legion replaced the desire to overthrow the capitalist class. The Legion provided the "timber-stiffs" with a sense of comradeship, self-respect and purpose and in some respects they became almost bourgeois. Patriotism had been heaped, and sometimes forced, on to the migratory, and because of the parallel increases in his standard of living, some of it "sunk in".

It is too easy to explain the relative willingness of the "wobbly" to abandon his revolutionary principles in terms of economic improvements alone. The persecution of the I.W.W. by much more violent and direct means than those used by Disque must have affected the "wobbly" greatly. The Legion achieved its aims, it smashed the I.W.W.'s power in the North-West and increased the supply of lumber. The war had enabled the army to take control of an important American industry without much reaction from a community which had thrived on laissez-faire for several decades. Without the I.W.W. threat, the Legion would never have been formed. The nature of this threat was never really defined by the authorities. Special agents of the Bureau of Investigation and prosecuting attorneys had testified at the beginning of the strike, to the lack of violence and intimidation and general peacefulness of the strike. Thus government action in the form of the Loyal Legion was based on an unreasoning anxiety that demanded the suppression of the "wobblies" and the restoration of the community's sense of security.

The calling in of the Army set dangerous patterns for the maintenance of civil liberties. Local army officers were authorized to, "repress sternly acts committed with seditious intent" and to protect "public utilities". In addition, army personnel were available for the use of district attorneys and sheriffs. Thus the military had assumed jurisdiction where the civil courts were functioning and where peaceable strikes were in progress. These capabilities were used, and used often.

In Montana, troops raided I.W.W. headquarters and put I.W.W. leaders and members in the city gaol for seven weeks without filing any charges against them. Throughout the West, I.W.W. halls were raided, and migratories questioned "vigorously" on their political and economic views. While a few I.W.W.'s were legally detainable as draft dodgers or unregistered enemy aliens, over ninety percent were at least legally entitled to effect their release on habeas corpus. To meet this difficulty the following plan was devised. Persons arrested by the troops were put into the custody of a sheriff, subject to release by the

officer in command. Civil authorities took charge of those who were legally under their control. The others, however, were subject to the order of the military commander so that if petitions for habeas corpus were presented, they could be denied by the fact that officially the prisoners were held under military power.

Illegal detentions of I.W.W.'s were justified by the authorities on the grounds that the I.W.W. needed to be "protected against injury". The army preferred to preserve "law and order" by imprisoning an unpopular minority rather than by controlling the community violence directed against it. A further example of community violence against the I.W.W. was the Bisbee deportation. Because of intermittent strikes in the copper mining industry in Arizona, hostility towards the I.W.W. was strong. Loyalty Leagues were set up by various Chambers of Commerce and other commercial groups. One of these leagues in Phoenix, Arizona made its members swear to, "loyally stand for our country in the pending crisis ...and to exterminate the I.W.W.". It appears as if their patriotism was of the negative variety, being more concerned with "exterminating the I.W.W." than aiding the war effort. In Globe, Arizona, every citizen was forced to sign a loyalty oath, or otherwise be persecuted as a "wobbly" traitor. The citizens of Bisbee, Arizona, however, took more practical steps.

A group of over 1,000 citizens all wearing white arm bands to identify themselves, were deputized by the sheriff. The telegraph station was taken over by the possee to prevent any news of their actions from leaking out. Over 1,200 I.W.W. members, townspeople, and sympathisers, were driven to a local baseball park. They were then loaded in groups of fifty into a twenty-seven carriage cattle train, the carriages of which had floors deep with manure, and deported to a desert town in New Mexico. Here they were kept for thirty-six hours without food or water, until the federal government intervened and took the detainees to an army camp in another town. Here they were kept for ten weeks until the army ran out of supplies of food. A year later, a federal grand jury indicted twenty-one leaders of the Bisbee Loyalty League, but none were convicted.

A President's Mediation Commission was set up to investigate the outrage. Of the 1,200 deportees, 331 were American Federation of Labor members, 426 were "wobblies", and 360 belonged to no labour organisation. It was also found that 662 were either native born or naturalized citizens and 205 owned Liberty Bonds, and of the foreign-born deportees, 179 were Slavs, 141 British and only a handful were Germans. The

THERE WAS A TIME WHEN YOU DONE TWICE AS MUCH WORK, YOU NEVER ASKED FOR MORE WAGES, YOU NEVER KICKED ABOUT BAD GRUB AND DIRTY BUNKHOUSES. WHY HAS ALL THIS CHANGED, WHAT IS THE REASON?
THE I.W.W.

THE REASON

majority of the deportees were thus neither "wobblies" nor aliens. The "wobbly" hysteria had enabled commercial interests to ignore the democratic rights of citizens, so as to further their own selfish interests.

The stage was now set for the final blow on the I.W.W. September, 1917 saw federal agents raid I.W.W. halls, smash printing presses, search members' homes and make numerous arrests without the issue of a single search warrant of any kind. The government planned to wipe out the I.W.W. by arresting prominent members and leaders. Their appropriate punishment, suggested a Washington senator, was " the punishment that has always been meted out to spies in time of war - they should be shot". It appeared as if it had become more important to protect profits and agitate against the labour movement than to defeat the Germans.

These arrests at one stage threatened efforts to save huge areas of timber in the North-West. With the co-operation of the I.W.W., the U.S. Department of Agriculture had mobilized 10,000 men to fight forest fires in this region. At the height of the fires Department of Justice officials arrested a number of the I.W.W. fire-fighters for being members of an "outlaw organisation". It was only through the "extraordinary tact and patience" of the District Forrester that the fire fighting work was saved from disaster, by freeing the arrested "wobblies". It must be remembered that this incident occurred at the height of the hysteria against the I.W.W., when the "traitorous" I.W.W.'s were fighting as volunteers to save the forests of the employers and the nation which they so despised. This fact must be an important one, in judging just how "traitorous" the "wobbly" was. However, not only I.W.W. members were rounded up by federal agents. The Socialist Party, for opposing the war, was suppressed and Eugene Debs gaoled for ten years for a speech supporting the I.W.W., an extract from this speech following:

> "Let me say here that I have great respect for the I.W.W. Far greater than I have for their infamous detractors...The I.W.W. in all its career never committed as much violence against the ruling class as the ruling class has committed against the I.W.W. Just whisper the name of the I.W.W. and you are branded as a disloyalist."

"Independent" radicals, anarchists and even religious pacifists were also imprisoned in the swoop.

The mass arrests of the "wobblies" broke the I.W.W. By 1918 it was too weak to carry on any organising or strike activity. Circumstances forced the remaining members to resort to political activity in the form of a General Defence Organisation, to attempt to gain enough sympathy, publicity and funds to free their imprisoned comrades. All the finances, leadership, and militancy of the organisation were drained off in a fruitless resistance. Once the government realised the weapons the Espionage and Draft Acts placed at its disposal, it used them decisively and without restraint, "whenever the bare chance of successfully doing so presented itself".

The first trial of 100 of the most prominent I.W.W. leaders, including Haywood, Chaplin, St. John, and Ben Fletcher, a negro, began in Chicago in April 1918. The prisoners had spent over seven months in custody before their case was heard by Judge Keneshaw Mountain Landis, who during the trials delighted in sitting on the steps of the jury box. The I.W.W.'s were charged with believing in and practising a philosophy that destroyed patriotism and loyalty and that the strikes they organised and participated in were not seeking better conditions but were merely to interfere with the war effort.

During the five-month trial, the whole history of the American labour movement for the previous thirty years was recounted. The prosecutor quoted I.W.W. material, from Joe Hill songs, to the preamble, to the constitution, and according to Haywood, " charged us with offences that we had never dreamed of". Witnesses testified that the accounts of the I.W.W. were well kept and that no German money had ever been received by the organisation. Nebeker, the prosecutor, summed up by declaring that the I.W.W.'s pronounced hostility to capitalism and emphasis of itself as a international movement,

meant that the organisation held a higher loyalty to the working class of foreign countries than it did to the business class in its own country.

The I.W.W.'s defence argued that the government had failed to prove that the accused had conspired against the government. The "dregs" of capitalism were aired to the court, from the mine disaster in Butte, Montana, to the conditions of the migratory of the West. Forest rangers, farmers, and public officials all testified to the peacefulness and reliability of "wobblies" and how they had fought forest fires and handled war supplies for the Department of the Army. Referring to the I.W.W.'s supposed disloyal nature, one of the defence attorneys stated:

> "If patriotism means to wave flags from the housetops and then profiteer, then the I.W.W. is unpatriotic. If patriotism means that one must believe in war as the best way of settling things – that the wholesale slaughter of innocent people is right, then again I say the I.W.W. has for years been unpatriotic."

After one of the I.W.W. accused had lectured on political economy for five hours he smiled at the jury and said: "It is customary for I.W.W. speakers to take up a collection, but under these circumstances, I think we will dispense with it."

After 17,500 "offences" had been considered during the trail, it took the jury only an hour to reach a verdict. Two of the accused were released, a small group was sentenced to a year's gaol, a much larger group to ten year's gaol, and a final group sentenced to 38 years each. When the judge asked the defence attorneys if there was to be an appeal, and they replied "yes", the accused were called back into the court and fined from $20,000 to $30,000 each. A waiting crowd outside the courthouse, upon hearing of the sentences, cheered loudly as a brass band struck up "Hail Columbia".

Similar trials occurred all over the country. A group of forty-six defendants in Sacramento, remained silent throughout their trial as they realised the fruitlessness of attempting a defence. In the words of one of their spokesmen, "We are tried in a prejudiced community...this silent strike is to preserve the self-respect of ourselves as members of organized labor". In Kansas, thirty-four "wobblies" were kept in county gaols for over two years whilst awaiting trial. Several died and others went insane after being kept in a revolving cage without windows. A magazine article later reported how the guards maintained discipline. In the words of one of the guards: "We go in and knock the guts out of those fellows".

After the federal trials against the I.W.W., the criminal syndicalist laws passed by twenty-two states, enabled even stronger attacks on the I.W.W. These laws were directed primarily against the mere advocacy by word of mouth or writing of ideas which advocated, "crime sabotage, violence or other unlawful means of terrorism as a means of accomplishing industrial or political reform". People prosecuted under these laws included a "wobbly" who had fought in the war in France and upon his return was arrested for being a member of the organisation under the Busick injunction, which enabled a judge to sentence any "wobbly" without a jury trial. Another case involved a woman who had organised a meeting and had placed the American flag over a piano, and this "desecration of the flag" made her liable under these laws.

The indomitable spirit of the "wobbly" remained just as strong in prison. He wrote songs, poems and short stories. Direct action techniques were used to obtain better conditions and to make public their plight. "Wobblies" were beaten for singing their songs, imprisoned in solitary confinement, and subjected to many such similar abuses, but all these tactics failed miserably in breaking their spirit. Those not in prison worked tirelessly for the prisoners' release, some even mortgaging their homes, if they had one. I.W.W. material was confiscated by the Post Office, which made any defence organisation extremely difficult to operate. Many I.W.W.'s however, stuck strongly to their political principles and decried any efforts to organize defence movements. They felt these attempts detracted from organisational efforts and that dependence on lawyers and

courts instead of, on-the-job activities, would mean the complete decay of the I.W.W. The I.W.W., however, had become a defence organisation through sheer necessity and its days as a militant and influential labour organisation were over.

Although the temporary suppression technique of using federal troops and the more permanent one, by the medium of the courts, had both proved effective, the anti-radical hysteria was still unsatisfied. Deportation, the love of those who desired to rid the country of "isms", was to prove the final stage of the anti-I.W.W. drives. From January to March, 1918, several hundred I.W.W. members were arrested from around the Seattle district by Immigration officials, after commercial interests in Seattle had called for the mass arrest of over five thousand suspected "wobblies". Lack of accommodation for the arrested prevented arrests from totalling over five hundred. Fearing that those under detention would win their freedom, the federal government passed the Immigration Act of October, 1918, which made mere membership of the I.W.W. sufficient grounds for the deportation of an alien. Thus, an alien was to be condemned not merely for his own personal acts and conduct, but for the acts and conduct of an organisation of which he might be a member. Guilt by association as adopted under this law made the "red" scares of 1919–20 possible while the end of the war made them probable.

The cessation of hostilities meant that the Espionage and Draft Acts could no longer be used to suppress the I.W.W. In February, 1919, the first large group of I.W.W.'s arrived in New York for deportation and immediately a vigorous defence of the "wobblies" came forward from New York liberals and progressives. This pressure put on the Department of Labor led to over two-thirds of the potential deportees being released. The Departments of Labor and Justice then combined under the "wing" of an aspiring presidential candidate, Palmer, and began the now infamous Palmer raids. The story of these raids is one of dragnet "swoops" on homes without search warrants, of unlawful detention of citizens, of intimidating interrogation of suspects and of the denial of legal counsel. On the latter, J. Edgar Hoover announced publicly that it was "extremely desirable" that the alien should give his testimony "without being hampered by the advice of counsel". An extorted sworn confession of "guilt" became the substitute for due process of law, while the Department of Justice was more concerned with the preservation of its informers than with the protection of the rights of alien defendants.

The stage had now been set for the future treatment of subversives in the United States. America was to see future hysteria, red scares, and raids on radicals. The persecution of the I.W.W. had enabled the maturation of and experimentation with, the most efficient means of removing opponents to the "American way of life". The most efficient means were most often illegal, thus indicating that individual freedom in a democracy is usually only available to the subservient. The I.W.W. had been defeated not by democratic process but by legal anarchy.

At this point it is intended to finally illustrate two further incidents which occurred in 1919, and which combined with the deportations and gaoling, led to the collapse of the I.W.W. by the end of that year. The first of these was the "Centralia Massacre". Many attempts to smash the I.W.W. local in Centralia, Washington, had culminated in the seizing and beating of a blind newspaper seller by deputy sheriffs and the wrecking of the I.W.W. hall by the National Guard. The I.W.W. refused to be intimidated and built another hall. The Employers' Association stepped up its tirade against the organisation, its bulletins proclaiming such slogans as, "Hang the Bolsheviks" and similar statements. As Armistice Day, November the IIth, 1919, approached, rumours reached the I.W.W. of another impending attack on their hall. The I.W.W. lawyer advised the "wobblies" they had the right to defend their own hall.

On Armistice Day the route of the parade was changed so it would pass by the I.W.W. hall. The Commander of the Legion, the main participant group in the parade, was replaced when he refused to attack the hall. As the parade passed the I.W.W. hall, the

I LOVE MY FLAG

I love my flag, I do, I do,
Which floats upon the breeze
I also love my arms and legs,
And neck, and nose, and knees.
One little shell might spoil them all
Or give them such a twist,
They would be of no use to me;
    I guess I won't enlist.

I love my country, yes, I do,
I hope her folks do well.
Without our arms, and legs and things,
I think we'd look like hell.
Young men with faces half shot off
Are unfit to be kissed,
I've read in books it spoils their looks;
    I guess I won't enlist.

legionnaires broke their ranks and tried to break into the hall. When they eventually broke down the door of the hall, I.W.W. members opened fire on the intruders. There is much dissension on which group was responsible for the first shots. The leader of the attack on the hall was killed along with four of his comrades. One of the I.W.W.'s escaped and while being pursued, killed a nephew of the main lumber 'baron' in Centralia. This "wobbly", Wesley Everest, was the holder of a Purple Heart and the Distinguished Service Medal and his patriotism could hardly be refuted.

Under cover of darkness, Everest was seized by a mob from the gaol, emasculated while still alive, then lynched. According to Haywood, his last words before he was seized by the lynch mob were; "Tell the boys I died for the class struggle". His body was then buried in an unmarked grave. Four other "wobbly" prisoners were tortured, one nineteen-year old youth going insane from such treatment. The Legion had control of Centralia and the local bar association announced that if any of its members appeared for the "wobblies" they would be disbarred. "Even to sympathize with the perpetrators of the tragedy is proof evident that the sympathizer is a traitor to his country", declared a Centralia newspaper. Throughout the country the story went that the I.W.W. had attacked an innocent patriotic parade. The real facts about the incident were not published until 1930, when the Federal Council of Churches of Christ of America investigated the massacre and their findings concurred almost entirely with those of Ralph Chaplin, who issued a book for the I.W.W. on the incident.

The I.W.W. prisoners were sentenced to terms of twenty-five to forty-five years on a charge of second-degree murder. Several years after the trial, six of the jury members signed affidavits stating that, if they had known the full facts of the legionnaires' raid on the hall, they would have voted for the acquittal of the accused. Even Legion members spoke out against the gaolings, although ten years after the incident. One, a former U.S. Army captain, announced in 1929: "A short resume of the Centralia case shows Centralia legionnaires were used by local businessmen to eject the I.W.W." Nevertheless, the prisoners who survived their gaol sentences, were not released until seventeen years after the massacre. No action was ever taken or even suggested against the legionnaires.

The Centralia tragedy was the climax of the I.W.W. in the North-West. The I.W.W., the Department of Labor and the army had thought was dead, had fought for its rights to maintain a hall and had lost Commercial interests and reactionary elements, had again perverted the principles upon which their nation was supposedly founded.

Strangely enough, the closest the I.W.W. ever came to achieving a revolution in the United States was after it had been almost eliminated. This so-called Seattle 'Revolution' was the result of a strike by 25,000 shipyard workers for higher wages. I.W.W. agitators, some of them Russian, seized the opportunity to call for a revolution. At a meeting, one of them cried, "It is time to turn this country into a Bolshevik form of government". Upon hearing this the police closed the meeting, the result being that a parade was then formed, led by W.C. Smith, a well-known "wobbly" carrying a red flag. When Smith shouted; "Here's the flag for us - the only flag - the Red Flag", the police charged the procession. A bitter fight broke out as police tried to seize the flag, resulting in 13 I.W.W.'s being arrested. One of those arrested, while being clubbed, shouted, "To hell with America", while another called out, "I'm an American, but damned sorry for it".

A general strike was then called by the Central Labour Council of Seattle and all electricity, gas, and railway workers left their jobs. Milk supplies were continued for children and the aged, as well as for hospitals. Over 95% of craft union members went on strike and the strike bulletin announced that, "...here in Seattle, peacefully and without violence may transpire the revolutionary change in the management of industry to the workers". Thousands of businessmen and professional people flocked to the call of the Mayor to form a group to break the strike. These, together with 3,000 armed policemen and National Guardsmen proved too strong for the I.W.W., and the Mayor announced; "The revolution did not even get off first base". However, government informers planted in the I.W.W., had enabled all the "wobblies. " plans to be known beforehand and thus easily countered. Mayor Hanson advocated "hanging bees" for the I.W.W., the logic of this suggestion being that, "...if one is kind to them, they believe one afraid". The editor of the magazine in which the incident was described added a footnote declaring that: "...that mongrel breed who call themselves pacifists and internationalists were swept off their feet by true Americanism", and further suggested that Mayor Hanson be nominated for the presidency because of his "valiant" efforts.

Hanson's actions and feeling were just a small example of the anti-Bolsheviki hysteria existing at the time. The I.W.W. could not be persecuted because of its attitude to war, as the war was over, so America's first red scare was evolved. Bolshevik conveniently described anything or anyone who was not fully "Americanized". One writer described Bolshevism as, "... an excrescence of the political melting pot, the social refuse, or slag that will not fuse - the impure or foreign substance in our population that would otherwise Americanize". Writers such as he were unprepared to understand why this "social refuse, or slag" existed, and thought of such persons as being only fit to be "eliminated".

Attitudes such as these enabled the I.W.W. to be crushed. Some of these attitudes besides being irrational, were plainly inhuman. The illegality and immorality of the I.W.W.'s suppression in many respects, counters the few illicit activities of the I.W.W. The

reflection of the I.W.W. amongst the general public had travelled a traceable path, from an organisation of dangerous foreign syndicalists to an organisation of wartime saboteurs and traitors to an organisation of Bolsheviki and finally and more recently, to a group of primitives fighting the good fight. Each of these images served some special use, to supply evidence for nativists of the dangers of unrestricted immigration to rally the community for a greater war effort and finally to prevent any dangerous revolutionary activity. All the images had been purposefully exploited and exaggerated by employers wishing to eliminate organized labour from their particular industries and especially break strikes.

American radical labour had been hit and hit hard. The I.W.W., for all practical purposes had been crushed by 1920, but its indefinable and indefatigable spirit survived. The more enlightened of its opponents realised the I.W.W. couldn't be completely destroyed. One of these very ably summed up why this was so in the following:

> "You cannot destroy the organisation. That is an intangible proposition. It is something you cannot get at. You cannot reach it. You do not know where it is. It is not in writing. It is a simple understanding between men and they act upon it without any evidence of existence whatsoever".

The suppression of the I.W.W. had, in the case of the free speech fights, enabled it to thrive and perhaps even survive. The actions of vigilantes and other forms of bourgeois reaction were not effective in is suppression. It was the war that enabled the I.W.W. to be used as a scape-goat for inciting patriotism and more importantly, to enable even unconstitutional methods of strike breaking to be used under the guise of the necessity to suppress the I.W.W., as it "aided the Kaiser". The war also enabled the passing of the Espionage Acts and the Immigration Acts, which if it had been in existence in 1912, when the I.W.W. first began to present itself as a practical social protest and re-organisation movement, would have enabled its opponents to crush the I.W.W. before it had done such things as raise wages for textile workers and improve conditions for the migratories.

The I.W.W"s suppression also indicated clearly the swift abrogation of civil liberties which can occur, often without reason, to enable reactionaries to eliminate dissident elements. The "McCarthyist Era" was plainly foreshadowed by the Palmer raids and the loyalty oaths used against the I.W.W., and more importantly, the dangers of bourgeois reaction in being excessive in its practical application and injurious to many persons were clearly illustrated. Democratic principles so often assumed to be unalterable, were disregarded or flagrantly broken. Children were prevented from leaving Lawrence to go to another town, citizens were deported against their will to other parts of the country where, in one case, they were held in custody by the army, and I.W.W. leaders were arrested on obviously contrived charges of "conspiracy", merely to keep them in custody and to prevent them from aiding workers in bettering their own condition. Louis Adamic has summed up the period of suppression of the I.W.W. in the following words:

> "It was a period of massacres, frame-ups, Red scares, mass arrests, judicial murders – dirty doings far worse than the acts of such characters as Berkman, Haywood and the Centralia I.W.W. The latter at least were not perpetrated by the powerful against the weak, were not anti-social, brutal, brutalizing, inhuman in the motives behind them".

The I.W.W. had challenged the entire social and political system and lost. Its opponents had stopped at nothing to crush its challenge. By 1920, for all practical purposes, it was dead, victim of the most systematic campaign of extermination in American history. Wherever there are underprivileged, down-cast and oppressed persons, the spirit of the I.W.W. still survives in the hopes for a more egalitarian and just society. An ideal as strong as the I.W.W.'s could survive any attack meted upon it, even if its organisation could not. Ideals are not killed by physical means and especially those of the nature of the I.W.W.'s. The I.W.W. was dead in 1920, not in spirit but in organisation.

"In the women's liberation consciousness raising groups, issues that are in the broadest sense political are explored both in their overall social context and on the level of personal experience. The structure of women's liberation is indicative of the way in which our society, with its rapid fire communications and generalized sense of alienation and frustrated possibilities, makes a decentralized, human-scale movement suitable as a mode of organisation. Indeed, such an organizational structure is crucial, if issues are to be dealt with in their full depth, and not exploited by the mass media or by self-appointed vanguards."

David Rosenthal
Pamela Allen

". . . we've been struggling with this word (maieurica) and we've decided that what it means is a kind of ongoing dialectic between the individual, the group, and all these groups together. It's a Socratic technique to get others to grow as you are growing. You have all read the Dialogues of Plato. You all know the process that is used in order to increase awareness instead of imposing it on people. In Socrates it was developed thru the use of the dialectic form — the dialogue — but with humanity it is important to evolve this through groups and the whole community. . . . If you want to bring about a change, it's absolutely necessary to build new democratic groups. It is also necessary to destroy, to uproot, to eliminate the old groups . . . one has to invent new strategies which will be a combination of the construction of the new and the demolition of the old."

Danilo Dolci

6) Among the fundamental likenesses between Revolutionary Rupublicans and the Anarchists is the recognition that the little must precede the great; that the local must be the basis of the general; that there can be a free federation only when there are free communities to federate; that the spirit of the latter is carried into the councils of the former, and a local tyranny may thus become an instrument for general enslavement.

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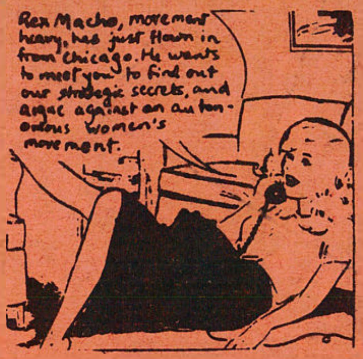
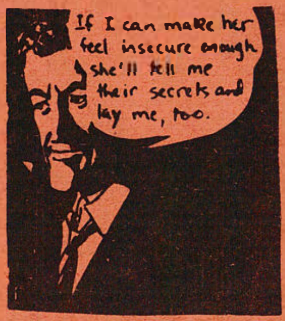
Voltairine de Cleyre

SOHO, S.O.B.


Rex Macho, movement heavy, has just flown in from Chicago. He wants to meet you to find out our strategic secrets, and argue against an autonomous women's movement.



LATER THAT NIGHT...